

Voluntary colleges 'fail' to cut staff

by David Jobbins and Patricia Santinelli

Voluntary colleges may be penalized for failing to cut staff in line with Government targets, with one in eight posts at risk.

Proposals for a 5 per cent cut in their 1984/85 budgets, the axing of one in eight academic jobs and the reduction of student places on non-teaching training courses were put forward by Department of Education officials at a meeting with the Association of Voluntary Colleges.

Following representation by the AVC, the 5 per cent cut was reduced to 4 per cent when principals argued that they had already achieved a 1 per cent resource cut.

Polyversity 'could set precedent'

by Paul McGill

Sir Peter Swinerton-Dyer, the next chairman of the University Grants Committee, has suggested that the binary line may be rubbed out in Britain.

He hinted to the education committee of the Northern Ireland Assembly that the merger of the Ulster Polytechnic and the New University of Ulster could set a precedent for other parts of the United Kingdom, although it would not be a model for others because of its geographical spread.

Sir Peter, who is also chairman of the steering group planning the merger, said that the binary line, "which is already very dubious across the water", made even less sense in Northern Ireland.

The same sort of solution could come about elsewhere and other people would be looking to Northern Ireland to see if it was a success. Sir Peter added that he did not think there would be much resistance in the UGC but that one complicating factor was the local control of polytechnics.

Sir Peter was giving evidence to the committee about progress on the merger. His view was that it was going "reasonably satisfactorily" and the staff and students believed it was desirable. The documents for the new charter and statutes about to be ready for the privy council in July.

He claimed that the financial assurances given by Mr Nicholas Scott, the Northern Ireland Education Minister, were greater than those for universities in Britain. "It was surprising and pleasant that he had the courage to give those assurances," Sir Peter said.

There would be no redundancies because of the merger. "Some people may get less distinguished jobs, but they are guaranteed a job and a continued salary," he said.

Sir Peter added that he did not think that the NUU would have survived without the merger. For all its considerable merits, the NUU was well below an acceptable size.

He declared he was unequivocally opposed to the regionalization of university intake. "To prohibit Northern Ireland students from going across the water could be intolerable. It seems to me to be wrong to restrict people at all," he said.

Earlier, Mr Derek Birley, the vice chancellor designate, spoke out strongly against the binary system. The polytechnic and the two universities had always been funded directly by the Department of Education and this made the distinction unnecessary for operational reasons and undesirable for social and educational ones.

NAB withdrawals
continued from front page
of a year's involvement with NAB, which could not act to prevent the cuts in jobs.

But Mr Roger Jinkinson, for the executive, said the union had been able to influence decisions on teacher education and the planning exercise as well as gaining valuable information through its membership. The union's withdrawal would either lead to the collapse of NAB and its replacement by direct rule from the Department of Education and Science or, more likely, a continuation as before with no opportunity to influence decisions.

The National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education is pressing for urgent talks with the DES and college management to protest at the proposals.

An emergency resolution at the union's annual conference this week deplored the failure to involve Nafhe in the discussions.

Union leaders are angry that a step which they fear could affect the viability of some of the smaller colleges is being taken when talks designed to bring the voluntary colleges under the umbrella of the National Advisory Body for public sector higher education for planning purposes are continuing.

Further meetings are to take place before a firm final package is agreed.

but direct trade union involvement is unlikely. No dates have been fixed for further talks because of the uncertainties of the general election period.

The DES proposals mention only 16 colleges out of a total of 24 in the sector. Specifically excluded are St Mary's College, Fenham and De La Salle College, Manchester, the first of which is due to close, while the second is under threat of closure. Also excluded are Newman College, Birmingham, Goldsmiths College and Cambridge Institute of Education, believed to be a reference to Homerton College.

The DES wants colleges to reduce their gross expenditure for 1984/85 by 4 per cent on 1981/82 when expenditure was around £55m.

The department is angry that colleges have failed to cut academic posts

by the required amount and have in some cases increased staffing at the cost of cutting back on resources such as libraries and equipment. If colleges lost one in eight staff more funds would be available for these areas and it would achieve a significant tightening of staff student ratios.

Officials also want colleges to reduce their student intake in non-teaching training areas such as BA/BSc courses on the grounds that they have taken an increasing number of the age group while polytechnics have cut back.

Colleges have been allowed to retain their agreed supplementary estimates for 1983/84 however after a fierce argument from principals that these funds were already committed and had been used in many cases to hire new staff.

Reading is first with new contracts

Reading University is to become the first to provide for dismissal of new staff in the case of "financial exigency".

Last week the Association of University Teachers accepted a proposal that contracts for new staff should allow dismissal for redundancy if "financial exigency" is declared.

Many other universities have been watching the Reading deliberations and may now decide to follow suit, particularly as the negotiations have been so bloodless. The university/AUT agreement now goes to the university council for ratification.

Dr Ewan Page, vice chancellor said: "We have set up a sensible procedure for determining what happens if we are in a hole of some depth. This has been done jointly. We want to end up with contracts that will stand comparison with any in Britain and we can attract the best staff."

"But we do not want to commit ourselves to a 'trial jacket' that would be financially impossible. The AUT have been very responsible."

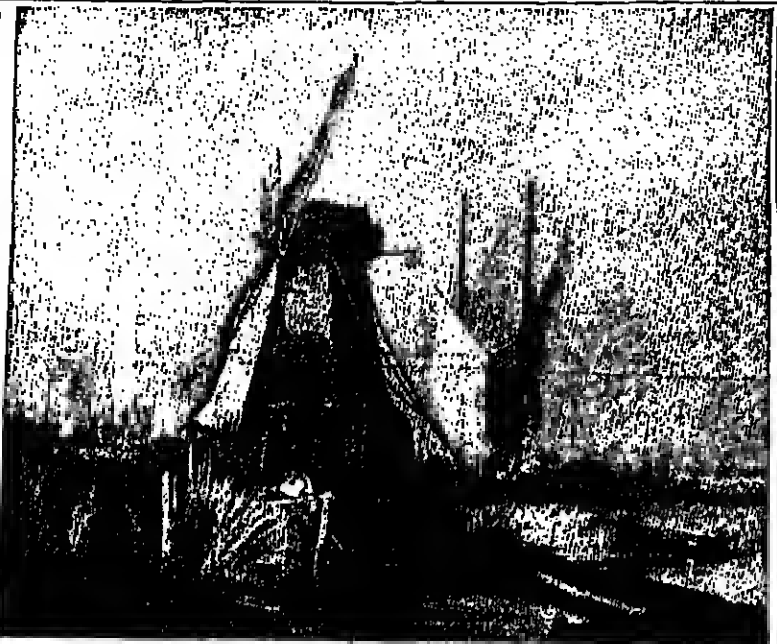
Ms Diana Warwick, general secretary of the AUT, said: "Unlike many universities, Reading has statutes which do not confer security of tenure on its academic staff. This is always been open to them to grant or to deny tenure. In recent months, since the cuts in university grants, such limited offers of appointment as have been made have generally involved a fixed term of five years including a three-year probationary period."

A dispute at Stirling University over negotiations on tenure came to a head this week with the local Association of University Teachers threatening to take action.

Stirling's court has decided an interim policy of making new blood appointments non-tenured. The AUT claims that under the university's procedural agreement, it should have been involved in negotiations, but the court says an interim policy does not have to be negotiated.

The university has refused to go to the Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service, but the AUT was to meet ACAS yesterday to put its case. The branch is considering a publicity campaign.

A joint negotiating committee meeting to debate a long term policy of non-tenured contracts for all new staff is to take place next Friday.



Seen in a watery light

Windmills and waterways, the traditional landscape of East Anglia, are among the subjects of the first Open University course by and about one of its regions.

This painting from the Norwich Castle Museum, *On the River Yare* by Alfred Stannard (1806-1889) is one of 12 by the Norwich school of painters, displayed in one section of the new East Anglia studies course likely to be available by the end of the year.

The course spans everything from ice-age vegetation to Norfolk fishing songs and modern demographic change. It has been developed in five parts including the end of the ice age to the medieval period - a scientific and environmental study; development since 1000 AD - social and agricultural history including the growth of the wool

industry the 19th century, including art, music and literature, the politics, the railways and a study of women's work in Colman's of Norwich.

The other two parts look at East Anglia today - its urban, rural and international position and the region's future. Each part includes questions and activities such as tracing old railway lines or constructing town profiles.

Each part will be sold separately in a pack and although they will be designed for individual study they may be used by adult education classes as well. A pilot pack tested on members of the Women's Institute in Norfolk attracted about 100 people - eight times the 12 wanted for a test class - an encouraging start for a venture that comes under the OU's continuing education activities and therefore has to be self-financing.

Promise to restore places

Higher education took a key position in Labour's election programme this week when Mr Neil Kinnock, the education spokesman, pledged the restoration of the 61,000 places in higher education lost to students since 1981 and also promised to restore the use of higher education facilities to adults.

He also highlighted the party's policy to give two-year traineeships to every 16 and 17-year-old school leaver. Barring for Learning schemes would be introduced as a second prong by which every young person would earn £25 a week in full time education and at least

£30 a week on training schemes.

Mr Kinnock said that the sheer size of mass youth unemployment, now standing at 1,226,000, excluding the 240,000 on Youth Opportunity Schemes, was the grounds for a lack of faith in higher education by those who had been taught all along that the purpose of education was work.

The confusion caused to colleges by the government's Youth Training Scheme in the election year of 1983, the Socialist Education Association. It is fielding a record number of members in the election.

How the London plans will take shape

London University's senate was meeting this week to discuss the following proposals from its joint planning committee, as part of its restructuring exercise.

Dutch to transfer the department of Dutch language and literature at Bedford College to University College.

Italian that except for the special case of Birkbeck College, there be two departments: one at Royal Holloway Bedford College, one at University College.

Philosophy that Bedford's department be transferred to the merging King's/Queen Elizabeth/Chelsea College.

subject degree in classical and classical studies be restricted to King's/QEC/Chelsea; RMC/Bedford; University College and Birkbeck College and that there be a small department in Queen Mary College/Weatfield.

Nursing studies that the immediate object should be the development of a single, strong department; that the intake to the BSc nursing studies at Chelsea be increased and that nursing studies at Bedford be discontinued.

Pharmacy that the department at Chelsea and at the School of Pharmacy should continue to be maintained (unless the university is forced to divert fewer resources to pharmacy than at present); that the undergraduate intake to pharmacy be reduced to about 100.

Mathematics and statistics support for the special cases of Birkbeck and the London School of Economics, the

subject should be concentrated in five departments: Imperial College; RMC/Bedford; QEC/Chelsea; QMC; RMC/Bedford, and UC with Birkbeck.

Physics that resources should be concentrated in five departments: Imperial College; QEC/Chelsea; QMC; RMC/Bedford, and UC with Birkbeck.

Geology that resources should be concentrated in three departments: Imperial College; QMC/UC/Birkbeck; Birkbeck/Chelsea and QEC/Chelsea. King's at Birkbeck, Surrey and QMC staff in applied geology be given the opportunity to transfer to the QMC faculty of engineering.

Nutrition and food science that it is desirable to amalgamate the departments of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine and King's/QEC/Chelsea, at the latter site.

Changes across the boards

by Jon Turney

Science Correspondent

The Science and Engineering Research Council is considering a reorganisation of its four grant-award boards to give less weight to the "big science" of high-energy physics and astronomy.

Professor John Kingman, the SERC's chairman, presented a paper to the last council meeting arguing that it was time to consider changes in a board structure which was fixed when big science accounted for a much larger proportion of the SERC's budget. His own suggestion is that the existing nuclear physics and astronomy, space and radio boards be combined with the "small physics" now funded by the science board to create a new physics and astronomy board.

This umbrella board for physics and space science would then be one of three, alongside a reduced science board and the engineering board, which would be unchanged.

This proposal would meet a number of criticisms levelled at the present four-board structure, both inside and outside the SERC. Many university scientists object to the continuation of two boards mainly concerned with large capital projects in big science when all the rest of science is lumped together under one board.

Physicists are concerned that the discipline is divided among three boards and that arrangements to consider problems across the whole field are unsatisfactory. In America, the home of big science, the National Science Foundation deals with physics and astronomy together.

The reshuffle would also emphasise the rise of engineering among the SERC's priorities.

However, any move in this direction would give rise to heated debate, and the council has invited submissions from other interested parties on possible reorganizations before it comes in detail if any change is warranted.

The significance of the proposed change can be gauged from the budgets of the existing boards. Nuclear physics and astronomy space and radio now account for 21 per cent and 18 per cent respectively of the SERC's £250m annual budget. The science board only spends 29 per cent.

On the other hand, a combined physics board would still only account for around a quarter of the SERC's direct expenditure on universities and polytechnics, on present levels. Raising this proportion would either mean drastic cutbacks in large physics and astronomy projects or the continuation of one board considerably larger than the other two.

Election survey saved

The Department of Education and Science has allowed the Social Science Research Council to spend £50,000 to complete a last-minute rescue of the general election survey carried out for the past 20 years.

The last-ditch arrangements have provoked considerable controversy. Professor Bruce Graham, professor of politics at Sussex University, has resigned from the SSRC's government and law committee.

Professor Graham refused to comment this week, while Mr Neill Johnsoo, a reader at Nuffield College, Oxford, and chairman of the committee would only confirm that the research is to go ahead.

The work will be carried out by a team based at Nuffield College and will be financed by £50,000 pledged by the millionaire Oxford businessman Mr Robert Maxwell, and matching funds from the SSRC.

Official dies

A senior official of the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education collapsed and died in Blackpool this week the day after his conference ended. Mr Tom Jones, 47, was assistant secretary for membership and education and had worked with Nafhe and its predecessor, the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions, since 1970.

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Report from the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education conference

CND decision – but no peace for Natfhe

by David Jobbins

A further year of bitter internal strife faces the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education despite the decision by its annual conference this week to leave CND after affiliating only a year ago.

Opponents of the affiliation decision at last year's conference are angry that a rule permitting political activities at short of campaigning for party candidates was not revoked as well.

A consultation exercise among the branches found that 8,360 members thought the rule should be overturned and 3,405 thought it should be retained.

But in closed session, delegates voted by 257 to 124 to keep it, and it brought immediate pledges from architects of the anti-affiliation campaign, vice president Mr Bill Hond and Dr Peter Knight, to fight to reverse it.

Dr Knight, who failed to be re-elected to the executive this year, accused delegates of "spitting into the face of the membership" and playing into the hands of Mr Norman Tebbit. He said later: "I think it brings into question our democratic procedures

when we undertake a unique process of consultation and then deny the outcome of the vote."

The majority view of the executive and conference delegates is that the rule will provide valuable protection when the activities of trade unions on the borders of political activity are coming under closer ministerial scrutiny.

Opponents of affiliation and the new rule came under fire during the CND debate from a leading figure on the left, Mr Tom May (Luton). Referring to their role in calling a special conference, he accused them of sabotaging last year's wages campaign.

"There are traitors in our midst who used a plebiscite... They destroyed democracy – they are the enemies of democracy." Supporters of CND affiliation should work to increase its strength among the membership with a view to bringing the issue back to conference at a later date, he urged.

Disaffiliation from CND was almost a foregone conclusion, although many delegates were deeply unhappy despite the clear 2:1 margin of 9,275 votes to 4,876 against affiliation recorded in the



Dr Peter Knight: Anti-affiliation consultation exercise, with one-fifth of the membership voting.

Conference adopted an amendment making clear the union's intention to work with all organizations involved in campaigning for peace and nuclear disarmament and to seek greater understanding among the membership of the union's established policies.

Ms Alice Oulton (Hammersmith and West London) said the nuclear powers were placing the lives of millions in danger. "We must embrace this fact and act on it. And we must act quickly before some small electronic error begins the process of execution which politicians and military have planned."

But Mr John Paterson (Tuscan College Preston) described the amendment as a lunatic insult to the membership who had voted against affiliation. And Mr Malcolm Lee, a past president, warned the union it ignored its members' views at its peril.

But Mr Dave Fysh (Bristolmouth Polytechnic) argued there was a strong connection between cuts in education and other services and increased spending in the arms race.

And Ms Sandra Peers (Croydon College), who also opposed disaffiliation, said: "Cruise and a strategy of so-called limited nuclear war means the military now think they can start a nuclear war and get away with it. The only defence is to rid Britain of nuclear weapons regardless of what anyone else does."



Close vote over YTS campaign

by John O'Leary

Calls for the union to break with TUC policy and lead a campaign against the Youth Training Scheme were narrowly defeated despite general disaffiliation among delegates over the way the Government's plans were being implemented.

The issue brought the two closest votes of the conference, an amendment describing the YTS as a possible basis for a permanent scheme of education and training passing by only five votes.

Earlier, Mr Chris Minta, (above) the Natfhe president, warned that the YTS will "resemble in many parts of the country the Mad Hatter's Tea Party except that it is not funny to see resources wasted and confidence and expectation destroyed by bureaucracy."

Over the past 20 years, more students had said they entered higher education for vocational reasons. It was suggested there was a clash between the students' views and the academic and research orientation of

Two-year degrees criticized

by Olga Wojtas
Scottish Correspondent

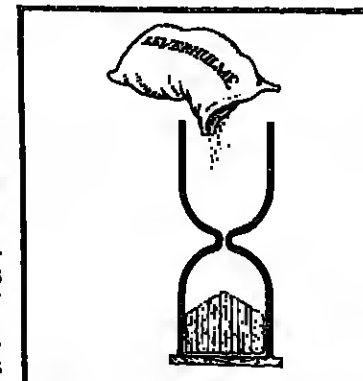
The Leverhulme report's proposal for a two-year degree was criticized at an Edinburgh University conference last week by Sir Kenneth Alexander, principal of Stirling University.

Sir Kenneth was speaking at the conference on "The university in society: past, present and future" which celebrated the university's four hundredth anniversary. He said he was worried by the form this two-year course might take.

Professor Gareth Williams, of Lancaster University, one of the report's authors, had suggested that the two-year degree would be the "Calcedonian" of higher education, as it would bring in the Scottish emphasis on a broad-based degree.

But Sir Kenneth feared it would be the "Frenchifying of education, with a standard state system spread throughout the land."

He added he would like to see less specialization, but the unintended consequence of a two-year modular degree



might be to reduce diversity. A reasonable proportion of science and technology should be inserted into non-scientific courses and arts and humanities courses should be maintained, Sir Kenneth pressed.

"We need that balance and there are enormous pressures now against it," he said. "It is quite mistaken to believe that by solving the problems of our society, we solve all others."

'Find out what the students really want'

The history of universities was often a history without students, Dr Harold Silver, principal of Bournemouth College of Higher Education, told the conference.

In his paper, "Higher education – the contenders", he said it was impossible to talk about the purpose of universities in modern society without asking what students wanted of them.

"It is not enough, and it certainly will not be in the future, to assume we know, to identify students with the institutions' unchallengeable values and purposes," Dr Silver said.

Over the past 20 years, more students had said they entered higher education for vocational reasons. It was suggested there was a clash between the students' views and the academic and research orientation of

the majority of staff.

"One research conclusion is that students expect better teaching than they get and expect a greater relationship than they find between the staff's research and the quality of their teaching. On the reverse side, staff expect students to achieve excellence by criteria standards often do not share or understand," he said.

If this meant traditional university values appeared to be at stake, they would have to be scrutinized and redefined, said Dr Silver. "Employment is not part of the world outside; it is in the motives, aspirations and expectations of students inside."

Sir Kenneth Alexander, principal of Stirling University, said he felt students were correcting an imbalance, and their influence was an effective

counter action to governmental influence.

But Sir Stuart Hampshire, warden of Wadham College, Oxford, said it was "depressing" if students thought of their studies as preparing them for niches in society, since one function of universities was to give pleasure.

Dr Silver also warned that universities were still "fairly unfamiliar" with the 100 or so institutions which were not universities but were doing barely distinguishable work.

Dr Silver suggested there should be a new federal National University, incorporating the polytechnics, the main colleges, the Council for National Academic Awards and the Open University.

Projections 'would be mistaken'

The Leverhulme recommendations for increasing student numbers, widening access and reducing specialism were strongly questioned by Dr Andrew McPherson of Edinburgh University.

The fall in numbers was likely to be considerably less than a third and might well be considerably shorter than previously predicted, he claimed.

"Is Leverhulme right to base its whole strategy on trying to frighten us with the threat of the cavernously empty lecture hall when it is not going to happen?" asked Dr McPherson. He questioned whether a uniform response should be expected from universities, polytechnics and other colleges when some "high status" institutions thought they could profit from other institutions' misfortunes.

Dr McPherson also asked whether the recommendation that higher education should reach out to disadvantaged groups was a tactical move to fill places, or a genuine belief "that there is a happy conjunction between outreach and the universities' desire to keep up numbers".

Of the successful candidates, 11 had first class degrees, and 13 second class degrees, while 14 had arts degrees, seven had social sciences, and three had science and technology degrees.

The service also found continued difficulty in filling specialist posts such as mechanical, electrical, and electronic engineers, estate surveyors, petroleum specialists, and telecommunications technicians. But it records great success in filling the 15 posts for nuclear inspectors.

Overall there were 119,434 applications with 5,352 appointments made, compared to 91,556 applications and 4,313 appointments in 1981. Graduate recruitment is described as one of the commission's success stories.

The only boundary which the Leverhulme inquiry did not want to reduce was that between the English sixth form and other forms of post-compulsory education, said Dr McPherson.

Civil Service suffers from 'poor image'

by Paul Flather

The poor image of the Civil Service is one of the possible reasons put forward for the failure of Whitehall to recruit sufficient "high fliers" last year.

In 1982 just 24 of the 44 places on the renewed fast-stream administrative trainee (AT) grade were filled, despite a total of 2,343 applications. Three were candidates from within the service and one had been previously granted a deferment.

The Civil Service Commission's annual report published this week describes the outcome as "very disappointing", and lists possible explanations including the lengthy nature of the selection process, the Civil Service's image, and attractive job packages offered by other employers.

The report shows that 17 of the 24 successful candidates came from Oxford or Cambridge, although it states that an analysis of candidates' performance in this and previous years showed no undue bias in favour of Oxbridge candidates.

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'Provide paid leave for all'

by Karen Gold

Adults should have paid educational leave as of right, adult education and training should receive more public resources without dependence on private funding and it should be given a legal framework, the conference resolved.

Mr Gordon Stokes, chairman of Natfhe's adult education standing committee, said the Manpower Services Commission's latest document on adult training *Towards an Adult Training Strategy* should be supported for asking many of the right questions and acknowledging the need for adult provision.

But the document's emphasis on training as a means of economic recovery and increased efficiency among the employed, rather than offering increased opportunities for individual access to training and the unemployed has been criticized both by Mr Stokes and in Natfhe's draft response.

The Natfhe draft says the document concentrates too heavily on skills acquisition. If individuals will have to change their jobs and skills throughout life they will need a broad base of education too, it says.

Although the MSC paper talks of cooperation between the education and training systems, there must be full partnership rather than domination by the MSC, the union says.

Executive told to step up campaign against the cuts

Natfhe leaders are considering the best way of bringing home the effects of Government policies on further and higher education before the election. But they recognize that steps set out in an emergency resolution may be impractical and financially unattainable. These instructed the executive to go further than it has already in the political campaign against the cuts.

It called for a newspaper advertising campaign in the few days up to the election. But Mr Peter Dawson, the general secretary, pointed out that the costs could drain the contingency fund the union had built up over 11 years.

Delegates also identified other policy areas to which they were opposed. A further emergency motion committed the union to play a full part in the campaign to keep the Inner London Education Authority and the metropolitan counties.

The conference also attacked the "punitive" effect of current government policies on the rate support grant for the metropolitan areas. Mr Roger Jinkinson (executive) said the big Labour authorities were the "last bastions of defence against the ravages of a mean-spirited – and some would say mad – monetarist government."

An internal and external Natfhe campaign against unemployment and the Government's related policies should be launched between now and the election, the conference agreed.

The motion said that in light of the present Government's policies which had led to mass unemployment, there should be a campaign both among Natfhe members and involving the unemployed, school-leavers, Youth Training Scheme trainees and the trade union movement.

The motion was taken earlier than programmed following the suspension of conference standing orders as a mark of respect for the unemployed and for the 17-year-old representative of the People's March for Jobs, Brian McBride from Cumnock, Ayrshire, who accepted a £250 cheque from Chris Minta, the Natfhe president and a lengthy standing ovation.

Delegates called for action, including possibly refusing to cross other unions' picket lines, against the privatization of a wide range of public services. Mr David Triesman (executive) attacked the "scandalous decanting" of areas of public ownership into private hands.

Ms Leisha Fullick (Inner London) said that democratic control of services had to be a key plank of the anti-privatization fight. "This Government does not merely ignore our young people but seeks to drag them in ways fundamentally opposed to the idea of any public education service. Private sector colleges will be there in our colleges – rich, powerful and accountable to no one," she said.

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Redundancies start dispute

by Felicity Jones

A national dispute could follow the issuing of redundancy notices to lecturers at Brighton Polytechnic at the beginning of this week.

The compulsory redundancy letters were sent to six lecturers after discussions over early retirement and voluntary redundancy failed to meet the target set for staff student ratios in the various departments. The notices were sent to two lecturers in the physics department, two in education, one in non-teaching learning resources and a lecturer in the art and design department's print school.

Earlier this year the polytechnic and East Sussex County Council agreed to shed 46.5 full time equivalent lecturing posts due to a £1.4m shortfall in the polytechnic's grant and in anticipation of the outcome of National Advisory Body's cost-cutting exercise.

But Mr Bob Burn, chairman of the branch coordinating committee said that insufficient time had been given to find new jobs for those lecturers who have received the redundancy notices. The council had postponed the letters until the last possible moment.

The national agreement for 12 months notice was never ratified by East Sussex County Council. A national delegation from Natfhe two weeks ago managed to delay the notices. Now East Sussex could find itself involved in the first dispute with Natfhe over compulsory redundancies.

A motion proposed by South East region was passed at the conference condemning the action and pledging full support to local negotiators and the use of local and national sanctions against the local authority.

Women's places may be reserved

The proportion of women taking an active part in Natfhe's affairs is small and declining, conference was told. Ms Dallah Hoffman (East Midlands) said that fewer women had been elected to the national council than in 1980 and the number of women on the executive had fallen from five to two.

Union leaders are now to consider proposals for reserved places on Natfhe's committees and report back in November so that rules may be drafted in time for next year's conference if the go-ahead is given.

Rule changes including reserved places submitted to this year's conference by the Northern region were remitted.

Private discussion

Determined efforts to raise the case of school lecturer excluded because he leaked allegedly racist essays to a television team, ended in failure. Instead the way the executive has handled his case is to be discussed in private at the union's national council in July.

Leaders launch battle against overtime

Union leaders are to head a campaign to eliminate systematic overtime working by college and polytechnic lecturers.

Although firm statistics are hard to come by they are convinced that its elimination would make a significant contribution to stimulating more jobs.

Union negotiators are also to seek a reduction of the maximum class contact hours without surrendering existing conditions of service or educational provision.

The precise shape of the 1984 pay claim is to be left to a special salaries conference, probably early next January. A proposal to revert to a

national council to determine the policy was defeated despite a plea from Mr Ken Singleton (Belfast College of Technology) that the £18,000 saving could be better spent in other ways.

He was supported by Mr Malcolm Lee, a past president, speaking against the executive, who said the money should be spent on sending members of the executive out into the country to stir up support for the salaries campaign.

There was considerable anger at the failure to make progress on structural elements of the 1983 claim in last month's settlement. Mr Jim Richardson, who was chair of salaries commit-

tee until the end of the conference, said that the management's refusal to negotiate was largely attributable to central government pressures on local authority freedom and initiative.

"This can only mean that the most detailed and minor aspects of conditions of service will be determined not by negotiation but by some mandarin in the Treasury," he said.

The conference instructed its leaders to devise an alternative to the grading of courses system which is the basis for calculating salary grades and college establishments as one of the first steps towards abolition of the current system.

Mark and St John, Plymouth. "Had the NAB been the executioner, it might have been different colleges closed down, but the result would have been the same" he said. "Surely Natfhe wants to stop the executions, not just change the executioner."

The Manpower Services Commission's extra money for further education staff training, the "Robertson Shilling" was welcomed in a motion carried calling for central funding for in-service staff training, and for a more coherent national policy on training for all those teaching 14-19s.

Student union loses £3,000

A new row has broken out at North London Polytechnic following the deduction of £3,000 from the monthly grant paid to the students' union. It is the first of three planned deductions of more than £8,000.

The money is being taken from the union's allocation within the Inner London Education Authority block grant paid to the polytechnic. It will go towards the legal costs incurred during a series of occupations last term when students protested against the threatened closure of one of the polytechnic's sites.

The students claim they were given no notice of the deduction. They also question the validity of the polytechnic's interference with money which the local authority pays it for the students' union.

Mr Stevens, the assistant director of the polytechnic, said that the money has been deducted in accordance with ILA guidelines. He admitted he had not given notice of the initial deduction but pointed out that the union would now be aware of impending further transactions.

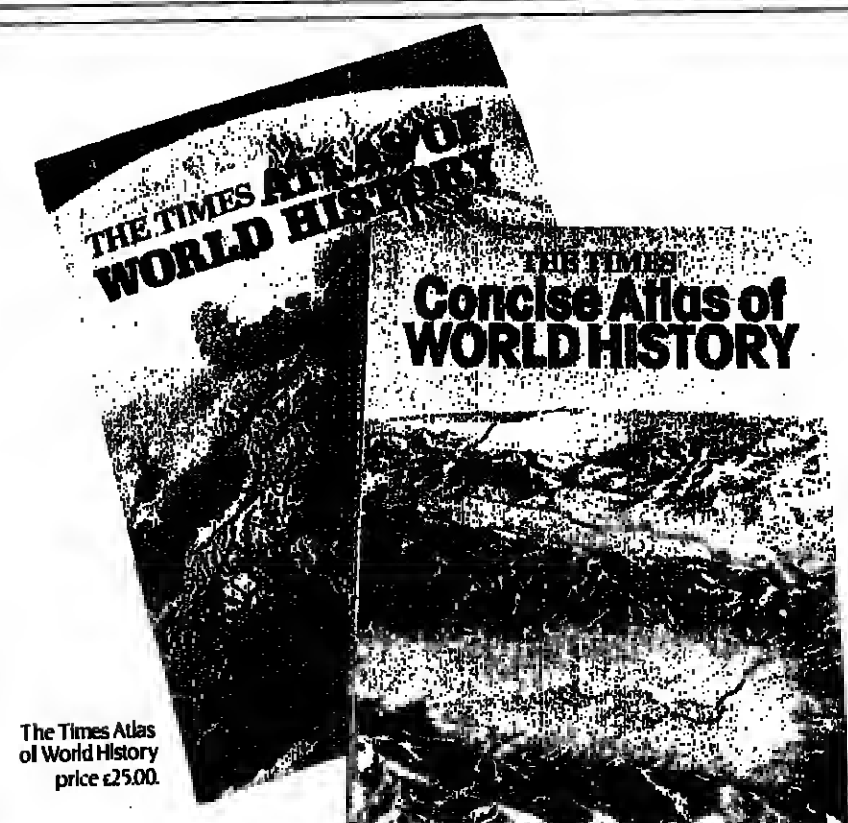
Engineers go to Canada

The Polytechnic of Wales plans to raise money from industry in South Wales to help engineering students gain experience in North America.

The polytechnic's department of mechanical and production engineering has set up an education trust fund which was launched by Lord Parry, chairman of the Welsh Tourist Board, in September the first four people are going out to Canada for three weeks to visit industries and technical colleges and pave the way for future visits.

Mr Jeffrey Gunningham, a member of staff who is going out, said that a colleague who spent a year there had exchanged had proposed that north-west Canada was a good place for both students and lecturers to study collaboration between higher education and industry.

The small group plan to visit high technology companies in Vancouver, a Canadian equivalent of the central electricity board and colleges to see how industries respond to educational initiatives. Funding for this year's visit has come from a variety of sources.



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WALL

TENURED APPOINTMENT
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The School of Management, which is one of five Schools within the Division of Business and Administration, offers programmes at undergraduate and postgraduate level in industrial relations, marketing, organizations, personnel management, public administration (including local government) and educational administration.

The School now seeks a dynamic person with the ability to provide leadership in teaching and research in the field of management and business policy.

Applications are invited from persons who have an outstanding academic background (preferably hold a doctorate) and have relevant industrial and commercial experience. Academic leadership capacity and a significant research interest evidenced by relevant publications are essential. Duties will include contributing to the review and development of academic programmes and encouragement of staff initiatives, especially in research and publication. (Ref 568)

Annual Salary: \$39,600
Candidates include letters for appointment and family plus assistance with removal expenses, superannuation
Applicants: Delete the name and address of those referees should be submitted in duplicate not later than 20th June to the Director, Office of Human Resources, 115 Strand, London WC2R 0AA, from whom further information may be obtained
When applying please quote Ref No. and Code 165



NORTHERN RIVERS
COLLEGE OF ADVANCED
EDUCATION

PRINCIPAL

Owing to the retirement of the current Principal, the College is seeking a successor to commence duties in mid 1984.

The College is situated in the City of Lismore on the North Coast of New South Wales. Lismore currently has a population of some 30,000 people and is the centre of the most rapidly growing rural area in the State. Stage 1 of a new building on a second campus in the City was occupied early in 1982 and further stages await funding.

The College has students enrolled in four schools: Teacher Education; Business Studies; Scientific Studies; and The Arts. There are currently in excess of 1,000 students enrolled in the various courses.

The Principal is the chief academic and administrative officer of the College and is directly responsible to the Council. The College has an academic and support staff of approximately 150.

The position currently carries a salary of \$50,001 plus allowance of \$5,000 per annum and is subject to the standard conditions of service applying in New South Wales Colleges of Advanced Education. The College is an equal employment opportunity employer.

Further information in respect of the College and the duties and conditions of employment will be provided on request. Applications for this position including the names and addresses of three referees should be sent to Mr J. H. Maxwell, Chairman of Council, N.R.C.A.E., PO Box 197, Lismore, NSW 2480 by 29 July, 1983. Requests for information and applications should be marked CONFIDENTIAL.

THE NEW SOUTH WALES
INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
SYDNEY - AUSTRALIA
FACULTY OF LAW
LECTURERS

The Institute's Faculty commenced teaching in 1977. The Faculty consists of one school, the School of Law, and offers an undergraduate course leading to the degree of Bachelor of Laws. The course provides opportunities for part-time study for those wishing to obtain a professional qualification in the field of Law. The course is structured to ensure that graduates will satisfy the basic academic requirements of the Supreme Court of New South Wales for admission as a solicitor or barrister.

A compulsory skills seminar is included at each stage of the course. This subject is designed to develop the ability of students to apply their theoretical knowledge in practical situations. Applications are invited from persons suitably qualified to teach and provide academic leadership in law subjects generally and in particular in commercial law subjects and contribute to the above seminar programme.

Applicants should possess appropriate academic and professional qualifications. Lecturing experience at a university or other tertiary institution and professional experience are desirable. (If applying please quote Ref. No. 82/0661.)
CONDITIONS OF APPOINTMENT:
Salaries for these positions are in the range of \$42,430 to \$49,425.
Fees and a contribution toward removal expenses are provided for overseas appointees. A Housing Allowance Scheme is also available. With consent of Council, academic staff are permitted to undertake limited consulting work.
Applications should include full details of academic and professional work. The names and addresses of three referees, from whom confidential reports may be obtained, should be included.
The President of the New South Wales Institute of Technology will be in London from 2nd July, 1983 to answer any queries and for possible interviews and can be contacted by phoning 011 538 6851.
Applications close on 17th June 1983 and should be forwarded to:
The Director,
New South Wales Government Office,
66 The Strand,
LONDON WC2N 6LZ U.K.
Printed information about conditions of employment and related matters is also available.

Youth courses lose validation

by Paul Flaherty

Two courses concentrating on community and youth work training have had their validation withdrawn. They are the two-year certificate in community and youth work at Goldsmiths College, London University, attracting 25 students a year, many of them black, and a similar certificate at Westhill College, Birmingham, attracting 30 students a year.

The decisions are bound to cause concern among those who when the profession is trying to review its scope and tasks following the Barclay report which called for a new approach to "community social work".

The Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work has reviewed all courses leading to the Certificate of Qualification in Social Work, approving 140 of 142 submitted.

The review, carried out between December 1981 and February 1983, tested new guidelines requiring all students to spend a minimum of 50

days in practical social work. The council asked for extra details on 22 courses, five of which involved long and detailed negotiations.

The council did not name the two courses refused recognition from next October, and was reluctant to discuss the cases with possible appeals pending. Westhill college has decided to lodge an appeal, while staff at Goldsmiths are still considering the best way to proceed.

Mr Inge Bulman, senior tutor at Westhill, said there was clearly an important principle at stake, especially in light of the Barclay report. The course provided training in both social work and youth work and allowed students to switch between the fields.

Mr Brian Cohen, course administrator at Goldsmiths, said he was particularly concerned that this would reduce the chances of his students getting jobs. Currently almost all get jobs in the inner cities.

Both courses will continue. They are approved in any case by the council for

youth leaders and community workers. The Goldsmiths course was recognised by CUSW in 1975, while the Westhill course following a year later.

Meanwhile the national head of CUSW courses group is to set a meeting with the training council to face its disquiet at the way the review was conducted in relation to youth and on the criteria and consultation procedures involved.

Mr Bernard Davies, the group convenor, senior lecturer in applied social studies at Warwick University, said: "It does seem that in the review, being made by the back-door, the youth and community courses are being treated as an afterthought."

Another course involving community and youth training based at the University College, Swansea, has been approved. But here students take postgraduate diploma in applied social studies with either a social work or community work option.

Polytechnic principles
'are nonsense'

by Karen Gold

Polytechnics should abandon the principles of a national cutthroat for students and the two A level entry requirement, Mr Eric Robinson director of Preston Polytechnic told the Standing Conference on Educational Developments in Polytechnics.

Those two principles were English eccentricities, he told the conference on "The polytechnic in the community." "Both are postwar expedients. In many ways they are nonsense, perhaps dangerous nonsense."

Polytechnics had been tempted to build their reputations through academic drift towards university-type activities and institutions, when even the university rule was not clearly defined, he said.

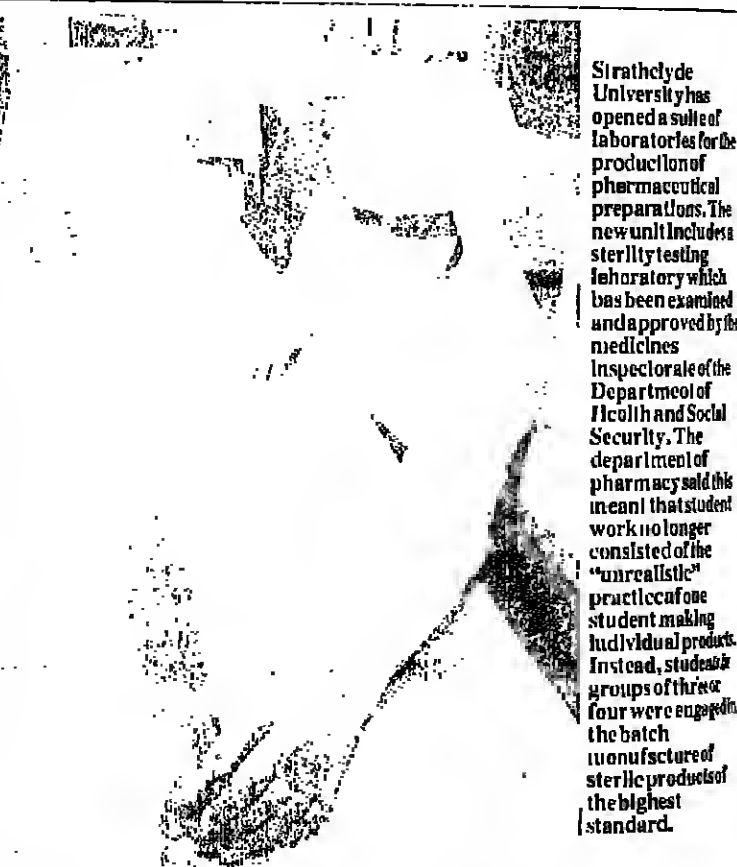
But polytechnics had not followed the universities to green field sites, and still were under some local control, he added.

"The polytechnic could offer intellectual leadership and cultural inspiration to its local area. I would like to see a positive approach to local involvement and control replace the current grudging toleration of local authority control. It is idle to argue that you will be a local institution, but not under local control," he said.

The setting-up of the National Advisory Body had increased the centralization of polytechnics, which was why he had opposed it, he said. The idea of zoning the country so that everywhere was served by its local polytechnic should still be considered. "It would be an interesting exercise which might suggest some mergers and some new designations," he added.

Even without that structural change, polytechnics could develop their community role, he said. "Where there are major local issues, in industrial development and housing policy and urban planning and welfare provision, the polytechnic should be involved. The appearance of its members on local radio and television programmes commenting on events should be a matter of course."

They should be allowed to develop commercial and local industrial work with commercial funding, something that the NAB planning exercise might make easier. But incentives for doing like distance learning were still dependent on an enlightened allocations policy, Mr Robinson added.



Strathclyde University has opened a suite of laboratories for the production of pharmaceutical preparations. The new unit includes a sterile testing laboratory which has been examined and approved by the Medicines Inspectorate of the Department of Health and Social Security. The department of pharmacy said this meant that students working longer consisted of the "unrealistic" practice of making individual products. Instead, students in groups of three or four were encouraged to make a batch of unmanufactured sterile product to the highest standard.

Engineers to extend skills

by Jon Turney
Science correspondent

The Engineering Council hopes to put a proposal to the Open Tech before the end of the year for a course aimed at developing the business skills of engineers. The proposal, revealed last week by Tony Bond, director of education and training for the Engineering Council would be one of the council's first concrete steps towards improving engineering training.

Mr Bond, speaking at a seminar organized by the Alliance of Manufacturing and Management Organizations at the London World Trade Centre, stressed that continuing education would be a central plank of the council's strategy. In engineering, continuing education and training was as important as initial education, he said, and the council had set up a committee to study the question.

The committee was also looking at the possibility of developing training materials for upgrading craft skills to technician level to help alleviate skill shortages in industry.

All now agreed that initial education

could not provide an engineer with all the skills needed in industry, Mr Bond said. It was no longer possible to assume that the new technologies engineers had to master after their initial training were simply extensions of earlier applications. Firms were being asked to recognize the need for continuing education and training, were being "both naive and defeatist", he said.

On initial education, Mr Bond said that the council's policy statement on enhanced degree courses would be published soon. It took the view that engineers needed a much broader and deeper understanding of related disciplines such as design.

The seminar reached four main conclusions: there should be a coordinated national policy for continuing education and training; a single, central reference point to coordinate information on courses available should be set up; the financial and teaching responsibilities of industry and educational institutions should be spelt out; and important, there was a clear case for a shift of Government resources into continuing education and training.

The sun also rises at the Japanese unit

The Japan Business Services Unit which has just been set up at Sheffield University has been inundated with inquiries from sales staff interested in breaking into the Japanese market.

The unit has already secured a contract to print business cards in Japanese for sales men and women preparing to visit Japan. It has a contract for interpreting for groups of business people coming to this country from Japan. It is strange to think that the English-speaking employees of a Japanese subsidiary in London, and it

is giving advice to a firm wanting to reopen negotiations with a Japanese company which foundered due to misunderstanding.

The unit, which was opened last month, was set up specifically as a specialist academic advisory body for the British business community interested in Japan. It draws on the expertise of the university's Centre for Japanese Studies.

Sheffield is one of only four universities in the UK teaching Japanese. The others are Oxford, Cambridge and the

Overseas News

Tough passage for Savary bill

from Guy Neave

PARIS
The French government seems to have given up hope that its controversial higher education bill will be wrung up by the beginning of the next academic year as it encounters a maze of amendments and counter amendments in the National Assembly.

Attempts to speed up parliamentary procedure by declaring it a matter of urgency - the equivalent of a guillotine in Britain - have added to the tension and the bill cannot possibly have its reading in the senate before November.

Though the government and M. Savary are pressing ahead, it is clear that opposition in parliament in the universities and on the streets has won a partial victory.

In the national assembly, the main issues have crystallized very quickly. M. Alain Savary, minister of education, stressed the main aims of the reform, to bring greater coherence between the different sectors of the system, the elite *grandes écoles* on one hand and the two year university institutes of technology on the other.

The bill would go much further than its predecessor of 1968 in making internal democracy in the universities a substance and not a shadow. Finally, he stated, higher education must rest firmly on the principles of decentralization and autonomy.

On these last two points, the minister was savaged severely by the deputy for the Rhone department M. Raymond Barre. M. Barre, an economist and a professor condemned the bill as dangerous and useless. He said the bill undermined university autonomy, rather than increasing it.

It is difficult to see how this is so, given that the latest proposals put forward by the government nestling team for the future of medical studies, proposes a virtual return to the status quo as far as the teaching hospitals are concerned. And medical professors were among the most vociferous about the restriction of their wide-ranging powers of discretion.

More serious, M. Barre thought, was the minister's notion of university



Barre: savaged the left

democracy. The composition of the university council, he thundered, virtually opened the doors to unseen forces.

This line is fully in keeping with those advanced by the student right, fearful lest outside nominations lead to a preponderance of trade unionists in academia.

For M. Barre, however, it also meant that the right of excellence and ability to determine what went on in higher education, was denied. The view that full professors should have a decisive majority in university councils was one of the most controversial elements in the policy of the previous government, of which M. Barre was premier.

The government has promised to modify the composition of the university councils. Student representation is to be increased but this gesture has not won M. Barre any friends.

M. Savary went some way towards calming student disquiet about selection at the end of second year university studies. But he can only satisfy some of the people some of the time.

In certain universities, selection has existed unofficially. If the government continues its policy of making it official, it will only permit certain faculties to select their students. Which these will be introduced by amendment into the guideline bill later.

The opposition has laid down a barrage of amendments, using every



Savary: pressing ahead

device to hold up the debate. The main argument against the bill is that it fails to take into account the education of the country's elite. Since the government is arguing that this is intimately tied up with raising the threshold level for the university population as a whole, both sides are engaged on a dialogue of the deaf.

Outside the National Assembly, student demonstrations took place on schedule. There were three in Paris alone. By far the largest - 12,000 in all - allied to the call of the national committee of students against the Savary bill. As darkness fell the usual hit and run tactics with the riot police developed in the Latin quarter.

The second demonstration, called by the left wing Union Nationale Des Etudiants de France Independent et Democratique, gathered around 1,500 supporters. The third, made up of "independents" summoned up a mere 500.

In Bordeaux, some 1,000 university and secondary school students plus teachers turned out. At Montpellier, three of the offices of the rector were wrecked.

So far, attempts by official left wing student movements to rally to the Government have not had much impact. The left is divided. It is in favour of better qualifications and improved job openings that might result, but it is against selection as much as the right is in favour of retaining it.

Students attack
invigilators

from Hasan Akhtar

ISLAMABAD
There has been a marked rise in student attacks on invigilators and examiners in colleges and schools in Pakistan. In one such incident earlier this year a student was ultimately bogged for gunning down an examiner of a medical college at Quetta.

The latest incident took place in Karachi when two people described as former students were alleged to have thrust a knife into the belly of the principal of a college and wounded another teacher, when they resisted the entry of the former students into an examination hall. Some time ago, two sons of a police officer in a small town in the Punjab were reported to have killed a headmaster.

The student violence which has led several times recently to night raids on the campuses and ultimately temporary closures of universities and colleges, has defied any corrective measures. It is alleged that the students are being financed and armed by some militant political parties.

The North West Frontier government has already dissolved students unions in the universities in Peshawar after a pretty rough gun battle between groups of students.

The origin of this hostility - apart

Intellectuals demand
release of lecturers

from Colin Harding

LIMA

Late on the night of May 5 Dr Jaime Urrutia, a 27-year-old anthropology lecturer at the University of San Cristobal de Huamanga, in Ayacucho, central Peru, was kidnapped by 10 armed, masked men. They burst into his house and took him away in a car. Because there is a curfew his wife was unable to find out where he had been taken. Before they left, the armed men ransacked the house, and took money, books and papers with them.

Two days later, in the face of an uproar in the Lima press, the military commander in Ayacucho finally admitted that Dr Urrutia was being interrogated in the barracks on his alleged links with "terrorism" - the official description of the guerrilla war that has been raging in the Ayacucho region for the past three years.

The chorus of protests was joined by leading intellectuals, such as Professor Pablo Macera of San Marcos University, in Lima, and by many other public figures, but the army refused to release him. The judge in charge of investigating "terrorism" in Ayacucho was only informed of Dr Urrutia's detention on May 10. A motion calling for his immediate release was tabled in the senate in Lima by the leader of the government party.

Everybody who knows him well agrees that Jaime Urrutia has nothing to do with the Maoist guerrillas of the Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) movement. He is a town councillor for Izquierda Unida (United Left), a coalition whose belief in electoral politics has been derided as "parliamentary cretinism" by the guerrillas. He presumably came under suspicion because of his frequent trips to the surrounding countryside (he runs a rural research institute in Ayacucho), and his many contacts among the peasants who form the bulk of Sendero's support.

Dr Urrutia has also acted as a correspondent for the left wing Lima daily, *El Diario de Marka*, which has been critical of the activities of the security forces in the war zone. Above all, he has been active in the defence of human rights. In an area where thousands of people have been arrested and in some cases tortured, in the past three years. His is by no means an isolated case.

The University of San Cristobal was particularly incensed by the disappearance of Jaime Urrutia, because it was the latest in a long series of attacks on its members by the security forces. One of their first acts after a state of emergency was declared in Ayacucho department in December 1981 was to break into the university hall of residence, beating up students and smashing everything in their path.

In February, 1982, another university lecturer, Dr. Humberto Pérez, who had spent four years in China, was arrested and imprisoned in the local jail, on terrorist charges. He escaped a month later, when guerrillas launched a mass attack on the prison, and has not been seen since. His wife is still subjected to persistent harassment by the police.

A few weeks ago, hundreds of the special counter-insurgency police stationed in Ayacucho ran through the centre of the city, dressed in tracksuits, their faces smeared with blood and the heads of dogs hung around their necks, yelling challenges to the "terrorists" who had spent the night in the streets. One of their main targets was the university, which occupies a corner of the main square. The origin of this hostility - apart

from a traditional mutual antipathy between students and police - is that Sendero Luminoso began as a movement among students and teachers at San Cristobal in the early 1970s. Although the *senderistas* soon moved out into the countryside to begin preparations for their "prolonged people's war", the suspicion lingers on in the official mind that San Cristobal remains a hotbed of subversion.

The tendency of the authorities in Peru to lump all left-wingers together, whether they advocate armed struggle or not, is illustrated by the case of Jaime Urrutia. Many former students have been arrested and sent to El Fronton penal colony, on an island off the coast near Lima, merely because they were at San Cristobal and presumably came into contact with today's guerrilla leaders.

Classes resumed at the university after a two-month summer break. On June 1, thirteen degree courses are on offer, and 2,370 young people applied for the 800 first-year student places. There were 160 applicants, according to the university authorities, for 30 teaching posts.

There was an air of determined normality in the colonial patios and colonnades of the main university buildings when I was there, with staff and students apparently bent on pursuing the business of preparing and signing up for courses despite the hostile world outside.

Even so, the strain is beginning to tell. Students dread the constant searches, arrests and interrogations to which they are subjected by the police, who regularly violate the university's theoretical autonomy to detain suspects.

Fieldwork and rural extension activities have virtually ceased, and Dutch and Swiss academic missions have packed up and gone home. The Dutch were involved in peasant training schemes, the Swiss in cattle breeding and forage improvement techniques.

Term began with a new rector at San Cristobal, Dr Victor Diaz León. His predecessor, Dr Enrique Moya Bende-zú, finally resigned and left for Lima last December, after receiving threats from both sides. He was accused by the authorities and the right-wing press of sympathizing with the guerrillas (which he vigorously denied), while Sendero had sentenced him to death for bringing agrarian capitalism into Ayacucho with the foreign missions and experimental farms.

Dr Diaz León, an apolitical veterinary specialist, was also a tired and frightened man behind his large, bare desk in the administrative block. He has been at San Cristobal for 20 years, five of them as vice rector, and is looking forward to early retirement and perhaps a nice quiet post abroad somewhere. He is depressed by the destruction of one of the experimental farms.

Both he and the students are anxious about the effects of the forthcoming universities law, which proposes to introduce more stringent and selective academic standards. As Dr Diaz León points out, almost the entire 6,000 student body at San Cristobal is of poor peasant origin; many of them are so hungry that they fall asleep in class, and perform badly in academic tests.

There is little the university can offer in the way of help. There are no scholarships or even loans, and access to the subsidized canteen is restricted to 1,500 students. The hall of residence has places for only 150; the rest have to find lodging in the town, and many simply cannot afford it.

Mexicans claim 56 per cent increase in budget

from Emil Zubryn

CUERNAVACA

The National University of Mexico (UNAM) has approved a 56 per cent increase in its budget for the coming year, although the sharp erosion in the value of the peso will cut the value of the rise in dollars.

The university administrative board has expressed the hope that the budget will make possible an increase in efficiency and efficiency, through mechanisms designed to improve teaching programs, research and the extension of cultural projects.

The budget will finance a campus attendance of 372,696 students at all levels, with cultural projects assigned 25,639,000 pesos (\$174,345,200). Research projects have been allotted 7,137,000,000 pesos (\$46,531,600); with cultural extension activities having a budget of 4,119,000,000 (\$28,009,200), with the balance of funds for administrative and operational costs.

The country's economic plight has led to an increasing number of student protests, although not of the militant kind which were common in the 1960s and early 1970s. Last month, 23 Mexican universities united in a 14-hour stoppage in repudiation of the government's economic measures.

The work stoppage in the universities was organized by the Union of University Workers (SUNTU). The unequal so-called "austerity" programs have had repercussions on the lower segments of the population, reflected in higher prices, scarcities and growing unemployment.

University individual unions, as well as SUNTU have indicated that personnel on all levels should receive at least 40 to 50 per cent wage increases to combat inflation.

Overseas news

Supreme Court defeats Reagan over racial tax clause

from E. Patrick McQuaid

WASHINGTON

The Supreme Court last week rejected arguments from the White House and upheld a standing policy that allows the Internal Revenue Service to deny tax exemptions to schools and colleges practicing racial discrimination.

The eight-to-one ruling by the nation's highest court of appeal is not regarded as a major victory for civil libertarians but is a serious defeat for the president, the private institutions and their sponsors. Mr Reagan had attempted last year to stop the 13-year-old policy and said he planned to grant tax-exempt status to the Bob Jones University, a fundamentalist Christian college in South Carolina, and the Goldboro Christian Schools of North Carolina.

The decision, resulting from a suit against the United States by the Bob Jones University, affects all schools and colleges. A number of "segregated white academies" were established throughout the south in order to circumvent earlier court orders to integrate the public schools. The court has clarified the revenue policy such that these schools are not only required to pay federal taxes but also private contributions to them are no longer tax deductible.

Bob Jones University forbids interracial dating and marriage among its students. Less than a dozen of the college's 6,300 students are black, according to 1981 records. Jones began admitting married blacks in 1971 and single black students in 1975.

The private Goldboro system, which contends that the Bible forbids the mixing of the races, refuses to enrol blacks at all.

The revenue policy was adopted by President Nixon in 1970 when it became apparent that the courts would order just such a measure anyway. It was supported by all subsequent administrations including Mr Reagan's until January 1982 when the Supreme Court agreed to review the policy in the Bob Jones suit. Mr Reagan abruptly reversed the policy, explaining that the constitutional guarantee of freedom of religion was at stake.

In the decision signed by the chief justice, Mr Warren Burger, the court maintains that the compelling public interest of ending centuries of racial bias far outweighs any burden the Internal Revenue Service may levy on non-secular schools. The justices did not subscribe to the administration's position that only Congress has the authority to strip a school of tax-exempt status.

Mr Burger wrote: "The government

has a fundamental overriding interest in eradicating racial discrimination in education. The institution must demonstrably serve and be in harmony with public interest... (its) purpose must not be so at odds with the common community conscience as to undermine any public benefit that might otherwise be conferred."

The only justice to file a dissenting opinion, Mr William Rehnquist, who is regarded as the most conservative member of the panel, agreed that technically only Congress should have that power. He did not endorse the public subsidy of racial discrimination at Bob Jones or the hundreds of schools that will be hard hit by the ruling.

The ruling allows private schools to continue to practise what they preach, but not at public expense. At Bob Jones University the sum involved is considerable. The government has been seeking to collect \$489,676 in unpaid unemployment taxes for the period 1971 to 1975 alone. At the Goldboro Christian Schools it seeks \$116,191 in unpaid social security and unemployment taxes from 1970 to 1972.

Mr Reagan said later that "we will obey the law" despite his personal sentiments. Following a storm of controversy last year the president conceded that he would support legislation



Burger: signed decision

denying future tax relief to schools ignoring civil rights laws.

Civil rights, affirmative action, and desegregation remain burning issues with the administration and the federal courts. The Justice Department has given notice that it keep the option of appealing against federal court orders requiring nine states to hasten college desegregation.

On March 24 a federal court ordered the government to cut off federal subsidies to public college systems in Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, Georgia, Oklahoma, Florida, Texas, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky if they failed to meet a September 1984 deadline.

line to show that they have taken positive action in order to meet a 1985 deadline.

Virginia has subsequently won approval of its desegregation scheme by the Office of Civil Rights in the Department of Education. The Justice Department, according to representatives, failed the notice in case it should want to appeal. No decision has yet been reached, however.

The Supreme Court has been asked to consider a case nearly identical to one it rejected a short time ago concerning white employees with seniority laid off in order to preserve jobs for more recently hired minorities. The ruling would have a major impact on American colleges and universities attempting to balance affirmative action goals against severe fiscal shortages.

Earlier this month the High Court decided it would not explore a Boston case in which a lower court ordered the city to ignore seniority rules and layoff police and fire-fighters due to budget cuts. The Supreme Court remanded the case back to Boston suggesting the issue was moot because most of the public servants had been rehired under supplementary budget measures. A similar case arising in Memphis is now on their doorstep.

Core curriculum designer to go

The dean of the teaching staff at Harvard University, Mr Henry Rosovsky, says he will resign next year in order to return to teaching and research. His announcement came through president Derek Bok's address to the staff during a regular meeting.

Mr Rosovsky has held Harvard's most powerful academic post for over a decade and is credited with the design of the university's core curriculum. In 1977 he rejected an offer to become president of Yale University.

Alliance gets a double first

In its first general election, the Alliance is challenging Labour's reputation as the home for polytechnic lecturers and university academics with political ambitions. If anything, the new party has gained a slight edge over Labour's 100 or so higher education-linked prospective parliamentary candidates. The Tories lag behind with about a 5 per cent share.

A closer analysis of the Social Democratic Party candidates, apart from their Liberal allies, reveals an even greater dominance by the education mafia. They beat even the 15 per cent share that further and higher education candidates have cornered in the Alliance as a whole.

About one-fifth of the SDP's candidates are lecturers and administrators. They include David Marquand, professor of contemporary history and politics at Salford University. A former Labour MP, he resigned his seat to become Roy Jenkins's chief adviser in the European Commission.

Professor Marquand is fighting for a seat in the critically marginal constituency of High Peak in Derbyshire against another academic, the Tory candidate Christopher Hawkins, who is a senior lecturer in economics at Southampton University.

The SDP is also vying with Labour to become the party which has its feet firmly based in the polytechnics and colleges. Almost half the higher education candidates are polytechnic lecturers including two from North-East London Polytechnic—Tyrrell Burgess, a reader in the philosophy of social institutions, who wrote a controversial report critical of the polytechnics, and Jim Daly of the polytechnic's business school.

The Liberal side of the Alliance also has its fair share of candidates from higher education. Most well known is the advocate of "community policing" John Alderson, who was chief const-

able of Devon and Cornwall and is now a research fellow at Nuffield College. He is fighting on his old home ground in Teignbridge.

A key marginal constituency with an educational flavour is Teesside where Frank Griffiths, a member of the national executive of the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education, is contesting Stockton South for Labour.

A senior lecturer in health studies at Teesside Polytechnic, he is in the middle of a bitter campaign in what has been described variously as both a Tory and a Labour marginal seat.

Mr Griffiths edged nearer victory when his Tory opponent was revealed to be a former member of the National Front. This revelation embarrassed Sir Keith Joseph, the Secretary of State for Education, when he came to campaign on the Conservative candidate's behalf and he stepped off the platform to make his speech. Another Labour candidate is Clare Short the director of Youthaid, who is trying to woo a 45 per cent ethnic vote in Birmingham Ladywood from a Stop the Deportation of Black People candidate.

Among several students standing is Paul Halton, president of Preston Polytechnic's students union. He is opposing Sir Keith in Leeds North-East as a non-party political candidate in protest against the education cuts.

Past presidents of the National Union of Students include Sue Slipman for the SDP and Jack Straw defending his Labour seat.

In Scotland, two former student presidents are taking each other on in the marginal seat of Stirling. The Tory candidate is Michael Forsyth, a past president of St Andrews University's students representative council, who has his work cut out defending a redrawn seat from Michael Connarty, the Labour candidate, who is past president and former rector of the university.

Felicity Jones

Surveying the voters' most vital statistics

General elections—for better or worse—are among the most studied events of British life. Of course this is to be expected: in theory an election is the touchstone of our democratic system, the moment when the people make their choice. Well before pressure started to mount for a June election, "tele-dons" had been sharpening their images, pundits revising their statistics, and election researchers checking their video equipment or completing their questionnaires.

By May 9, when the Prime Minister announced the election date, academics all over the country, including a strong contingent from Scotland, were ready to swing into action. But while the media pundits seem to proliferate, with a queue of pretenders for the vacant throne of Robert McKenzie of "swingometer" fame, there is general agreement that less money has meant fewer academics involved in serious research.

The great cloud that has hung over the community of election researchers has been the prospect of losing the series of general election surveys dating from the 1964 campaign. The Social Science Research Council's decision last February to reject all three proposals submitted by teams from Oxford, Strathclyde and the London School of Economics produced reactions of shock, disbelief, and outrage.

What annoyed political scientists most was not that the SSRC government and law committee considered the £200,000 proposals too expensive in the current climate, but the general lack of urgency to produce some sort of package to save the survey.

There appears to have been no attempt at the time to ask the teams to come back with cheaper or redesigned proposals. Under pressure the SSRC has reviewed its position and during the past few months council officials have been working very hard to come up with a new proposal. Some survey now seems very likely, probably involving the Oxford team under Tony Heath and John Curcio of Nuffield College. But with everything left to the last minute, no amount of hard work will compensate.

The great strength of the surveys is that the same questions have been asked on each occasion, allowing for proper comparisons over time. Professor Ivor Crewe, professor of politics at Essex University, who headed a team doing the two election surveys in 1974, the 1975 referendum and the 1979 election, said last week that this great virtue of the surveys would be thrown away if there was no survey this year. The SSRC is hoping to match funds of about £50,000 given from an outside source. The alternative is to use commercial polls which have neither the range nor the required standards.

Professor Crewe did not apply this year because the changes at Essex would have left him to do the survey almost single handed. But he is working on a big survey for the BBC to be used next week as the results come in. It will be put into the SSRC data archive with the other election surveys for future use. He is also co-producing an electoral reference book, giving detailed statistics on all the new constituencies. He also has a small £2,000 grant to study the Social Democratic Party with Professor Anthony King at Essex University. They plan to look at the history, structure, and basis of electoral support of the party and its impact on the political system.

The usual *Nuffield Election Study* is being carried out by Dr David Butler, backed by Professor Dennis Kavanagh, professor of politics at Nottingham University. From 1945 when B. B. McCallum launched the studies, they have provided a comprehensive and authoritative account of the campaigns in the country. They have been estimated in 16 other countries, and even been applied to the 1980, 1980, and 1910 British elections. The SSRC has given £20,000 for the study.

Butler and Kavanagh will provide the campaign commentary. They will be attending press conferences, interviewing key figures and watching events unfold. "We will be studying the campaign, what people do and what the media is saying," Kavanagh said.

Professor Martin Harris from Keele University will be writing the chapter on "what broadcasting actually did". It means following the media from 6.00am to midnight and he has three television sets to ensure he does not miss anything. He described himself as "a one-man band" backed by a few regional scouts.

Mr Michael Steed, of Manchester University, backed by John Curcio from Nuffield, are doing the statistical chapter, analysing for example the effects of boundary changes, the impact of the Alliance vote, of the female or ethnic vote. Mr Byron Criddle of Aberdeen University is analysing candidates for the study. He is looking at the proportions by gender, age, occupation, as well as their politics, for example, whether they are "dry" or "wet", left or right.

Professor Richard Rose, director of Strathclyde University's Centre for the Study of Public Policy and his colleague, Dr Ian MacAllister, will produce a book after the election *The United Kingdom Voter* looking at how the parties have changed since 1979 and whether there have been different emphases in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

"We don't know whether the north starts at the Mersey or the Tweed," says Professor Rose. "We don't know whether the fact that unemployment in the west Midlands is now higher than in Scotland will tend to produce a more homogeneous result."

At Leeds University, a team under Professor Jay G. Blumberg, director of the Centre for Television, is busy monitoring all radio and television election coverage. Mr Nicholas Prosser, senior lecturer in modern history, who is directing the operation explained: "Without a full and reliable record it is not possible to carry out systematic and analytic studies." The Leeds group first did the exercise in 1974, producing a study, *The Challenge of Broadcasting*. The SSRC is paying £3,000 for video cassettes, while the university contribution in staff time and materials is put at £5,200.

Dr Tom Nossitor, of the London School of Economics, will be analysing the Leeds material, trying to compare the election agenda set by political parties with the agenda "reasonable" people perceive.

The Glasgow Media Group, run by Professor John Eldridge and Mr Greg Philo of Glasgow University's sociology department, is also monitoring news and current affairs broadcasts, again without any external funding. "We're running it on chewing gum, string and videotape," said Professor Eldridge.

The group has not monitored election broadcasting, before, and has become involved partly because no formal election study was being carried out, and also because they already monitor coverage of peace, defence and disarmament issues.

Lack of funds will leave some experts in the sidelines. Dr Patrick Dunleavy and Dr Christopher Hibbards, at the London School of Economics, will no doubt be following events closely. But having been turned down for the SSRC election survey, the team has no clear project to work on. Dr Jack Brand of Strathclyde University will also be monitoring opinion polls for his own teaching purposes. He was one of a team that produced the 1979 Scottish election survey, but he has had two grant applications rejected this time. He described the SSRC decision as "disgraceful and really unforgivable".

Meanwhile, Dr Bill Miller, also from Strathclyde, is looking ahead to two books derived from a 1981 study of voting behaviour for the SSRC. The first on the methodology of survey methods comes out this summer and the second on international election behaviour is expected next year.

Dr Henry Drucker of Aberdeen University, who has built up a special interest in by-elections as "test-beds" for launching new parties and the evolution of the political process, is also sitting out this campaign. He put blame on his increased work-load.

Paul Flather
Olga Wojtas

Social science makes up for lost financial ground

from Janet Hook

WASHINGTON

The House of Representatives, moving to reverse a two-year decline in federal support for the social and behavioural sciences, has approved legislation that would allow the National Science Foundation to increase grants to researchers in those disciplines by more than 50 per cent next year.

But even that boost in the foundation's social science budget would simply make up for the ground lost through budget cuts imposed during the first two years of the Reagan administration.

The increased allocation for the social sciences was included in a bill that would allow the foundation as a whole to spend \$1.34 billion in 1984—a 23 per cent increase for the agency that is a leading source of government support for basic research.

The house would also add \$50m to the \$180m President Reagan asked Congress to provide for grants to help universities upgrade or replace deteriorating research equipment.

The legislation would trim slightly the hefty increases the administration

had proposed for research in the "hard" sciences.

The NSF bill approved by the house would authorize dollars \$57.9m for research in the social, behavioural, and information sciences in 1984—up from the \$42.9m recommended by President Reagan and the \$37.6m expected to be spent this year.

In its report on the bill, the House Science Committee warned that the budget cuts of the last two years may have discouraged young scholars from pursuing careers in the social sciences. The Consortium of Social Science

Associations, a group that represents sociologists, and other social scientists, recently conducted a survey of federal research agencies and found that applications for research grants in those fields of study had dropped precipitously in the first two years of the Reagan administration. Applications for education research grants from the National Institute of Education had dropped 35 per cent from 1980 to 1982, the survey found, while behavioural science research proposals submitted to the National Institute of Mental Health declined 61 per cent.

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Mr. Eric Colley with his wife, outside their home in Liverpool.

Conservative
CHRISTOPHER
HAWKINS

Christopher Hawkins is standing as the Tory in the marginal, largely rural Derbyshire constituency of High Peak against the Social Democratic Party candidate David Marquand.

He made his name when he was the youngest city councillor in Coventry and formulated the party's policy on the right to buy council houses. Mr Hawkins is a senior lecturer in economics at Southampton University, but as a parent with two daughters he prefers to talk about education as a whole. He is happy to draw attention to the good pupil/teacher ratios in the area but not so happy to be drawn on the shortage of university places.

"I support the expansion of education in all forms as the economy expands," he said, while admitting that higher education had been adversely affected by the cuts.

In Mossley Hill Liverpool, which takes part of Textoth, Brian Keefe, a senior lecturer in education at the polytechnic, expects to hold on to what was a Tory seat before the boundary changes. He also prefers not to single out higher education for particular mention and pointed to the urgent need to reorganize schools in the city. He was less keen to talk about the mergers between the Liverpool colleges.

"It has taken a long time to get the mergers through and there has been uncertainty for a long period. But it will work in the end and be very successful."

SDP
SUE
SLIPMAN

Sue Slipman, a former president of the National Union of Students, is contesting the largely Labour constituency of Basildon and hoping to glean some disaffected voters along the way.

She is committed to breaking through the binary divide in higher education but accepts that neither the public at large nor the party is so convinced.

"For a long time the universities and polytechnics have talked about working together but it has not materialized," she said. "There is a need to look again at the issue which is the reason why the party proposes a thoroughgoing review of higher education to see what the differences are between the sectors." She sees the provision for the 16-19 age group as a major plank of the party's manifesto.

A new education maintenance allowance across the board and an extension of the youth training scheme to all 17-year-olds are what she wants to see.

As a trade union official with the National Union of Public Employees, she has run a basic education scheme and been involved with education for women shop stewards in addition to her main responsibility as negotiator.

Her Labour opponent is Julian Fulbrook, who is a lecturer in law at the London School of Economics and a local councillor.

Labour
RITA
AUSTIN

"Release me from the craving to straighten out everybody's affairs," reads the seventeenth century sun's prayer on the wall of Rita Austin's office above the posters of Queen Elizabeth I and posters which say "Mothers—vote Labour".

St Albans is not a fertile ground for Labour with a 68 per cent middle-class vote and a 4 per cent Asian population. It suggests that as the first Asian woman sponsored by the Labour Party, it was for her middle-class rather than ethnic credentials that Rita Austin was chosen.

As head of the development services unit of the Council for National Academic Awards, she admits that higher education is never a big political issue, but this time it is just below the surface.

"Many middle-class parents are seriously worried that their young sons and daughters are not going to get places at universities or colleges and so not get jobs," she said.

As a member of the party's education committee, her main commitment is to Labour's post-18 proposals to open up higher and continuing education and provide access to groups of people who have not had access before. "One of the gross effects of the cutbacks in the public sector is that institutions which have tried to open up access now find that they are under pressure from ordinary 18-year-olds who cannot get places," she said.

Her Labour opponent is Julian Fulbrook, who is a lecturer in law at the London School of Economics and a local councillor.

Revealing the issues the Right left out

by John O'Leary

The most revealing feature of Conservative higher education policy is not what is included in the manifesto but what is omitted. Nowhere in the short section on the subject is there any mention of the topics which are always thought to excite the party faithful — student loans, left-wing bias or privatization, for example. Neither is there any but the vaguest statement of what measures might be expected in the next five years.

In fact, apart from the understandably rosy picture of Conservative achievements in government, the sentiments would hardly be out of place in any of the main parties' manifestos. The section reads: "Our universities and polytechnics, too, must generate new ideas and train the skilled workforce of the next generation. We have unrivalled institutions and unrivalled inventive genius — as the number of British Nobel prizewinners shows. What matters is to bring the two closer together and make the best practical use of both."

"Britain has more students in professional training than Japan, and a greater proportion of young people in higher education than France or West Germany. More of our young people are now entering full-time degree courses than under the last Labour government. And a larger proportion of them complete their courses than in most other countries."



William Waldegrave: NAB success

"The very large sums of public money now going to higher education must be spent in the most effective way. Within the budget, we want to see a shift towards technological, scientific and engineering courses."

"We have set aside money for 700 new posts for young lecturers over three years to bring new blood into research."

"Over the next three years, we will provide for more teaching and research on information technology, with new posts for lecturers, and 2,200 new places for students."

In other parts of the manifesto, the Tories declare their dissatisfaction with the state of teacher training, citing the recent White Paper on the subject as the basis for a programme of improvement. And, in a section on the new technologies, they promise to promote the Alvey Committee's recommendations for research into advanced information technology and to "accelerate the transfer of technology from the university laboratory into the market place, especially by the encouragement of science parks."



Sir Keith Joseph: New Ideas

ception of the intention to favour the sciences, their stated aims are sufficiently bland to avoid giving away much ammunition.

But, as the outgoing Government, the Conservatives stand to be judged on their record. And, in higher education, it has hardly been the resolute approach. If there have been few complete U-turns, most of the major policy decisions have been followed by remedial action of some sort. On overseas students' fees, the university cuts and the future of the Social Science Research Council, a hard line has been softened sooner or later, while on the control of the polytechnics and colleges there was near total capitulation. On perhaps the most controversial issues of all — that of loans — there were too well-publicized attempts to construct an acceptable scheme and two embarrassing retreats.

But these changes of mind (though unfashionable in Government circles) do not necessarily make the Tories' record in control of higher education a failure. Indeed, most observers might concede that the system remains in rather better condition than they feared in the early period of the last administration. The universities have survived the cuts intact, the public sector at least has gained a national perspective and awaits final judgment, student numbers have been allowed to rise in spite of earlier plans to the contrary.

Having set out to curb public spending, higher education policy was all about economies when the Conservatives came into office. The first burst came almost instantly with the introduction of full-cost tuition fees for overseas students, a decision which caused continuing controversy and, three years later, had to be watered down with a £46m aid package.

Spending on the polytechnics and colleges was held down by "capping", the advanced further education pool while the search began for a new method of distributing what remained. Initial plans for the Department of Education and Science to take over control of the polytechnics and larger colleges of higher education were scrapped in the face of determined opposition.

The arrival of Mr William Waldegrave as under-secretary for higher education heralded the creation instead of the National Advisory Body, which the Tories regard as one of their successes in the field. The size of the pool held up better than many feared as the institutions continued to enroll increasing numbers of students, but future spending plans dictated a 10 per cent cut for NAB to distribute.

Government allocations to the University Grants Committee brought unprecedented cuts to most of the universities and the loss of many teaching posts. Sir Keith Joseph, as Secretary of State for Education, began to take a more active role in advising the UGC (and NAB) of Government priorities. And, in response to pleas for the UGC and the universities themselves, funds were found to provide the 700 new blood posts to alleviate the effects of the original cuts.

By the end of his term of office, Sir Keith had formulated new ideas on alternative funding for some universities, reducing their reliance on the state. But the election came before discussion could be held with a selected group of vice chancellors and the plan, though consistent with other Tory aims could not fairly be described as party policy.

Neither, despite all the speculation to the contrary, is the introduction of student loans, even in a mixed system combined with grants.



Dafydd Thomas: Plaid Cymru

A cry from the heart of Wales

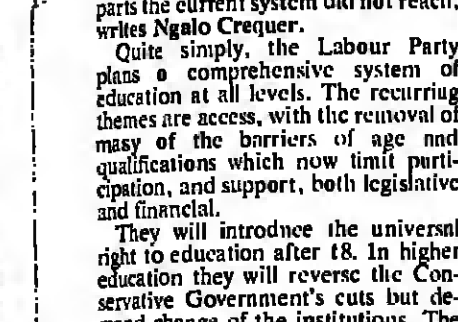
by Karen Gould

Coordination is the key to Plaid Cymru higher education policy: its manifesto promises "a comprehensive system of higher education governed by a Higher Education Commission".

That commission is intended as a framework for operating two principles: open access to post-16 education, and provision based in the local community. To achieve it, the commission would bring together the local education authorities, the Welsh National Advisory Body, and the federal University of Wales.

The university has been criticized by Plaid Cymru for not being conscious enough both of its federal structure and its local surroundings. The university should negotiate as a single body with the University Grants Committee, and should receive a Welsh block grant together with the Welsh NAB and local authorities according to one of Plaid Cymru's two MPs in the last Parliament, Mr Dafydd Thomas.

Rather than recruit generally through the Universities' Central Council on Admissions, it should recruit from within Wales, as should the polytechnic, and — without centralized direction — research should be encouraged which is relevant to the region.



Neil Kinnock: Changes in attitude

Brewing up a new round of change

Second there would be a universal entitlement for a year of supported full-time education, to be taken in parts or as a whole. This new form of adult education could be used, Mr Kinnock has said, for anything from management refresher courses and shop stewards' training, to vocational courses to general aesthetic development. Basic financial support would be provided.

Labour is stressing once again the power of education to invigorate the individual and society at every level. Its attack is against the low level of expectation in individuals who have come to think continuation in education is unnatural or unnecessary, and against institutions which cater well for the traditional student and then sit back thinking their job is done.

Necessarily, the institutions must change. And here Labour's plans could prove to be radical and dynamic, or end up as a messy dog-fight against entrenched interests.

Neither Mr Kinnock nor Mr Whitehead have gone into any great detail as to how the institutions should change and perhaps (as well as being electorally handy) that is right, as they have stressed that they want the debate to come from within the universities, polytechnics and colleges.

No more Great Debates, one hopes, but a dialogue which, coupled with the greater openness they pledge for the policy-making and funding bodies, may even provoke some reasonable ideas.



Philip Whitehead: Need to re-skill

From Derry to Dublin — with nothing much in between

by Paul McGill

If Northern Ireland sits in Westminster were won or lost on the strength of higher education policies, the Social Democratic and Labour Party would easily come out on top. It is the only one of the five main parties to deal with the matter seriously in its manifesto.

The party deplores the lack of a coherent government policy on third level education and the erosion of the Robbins principle of access. It acknowledges the preoccupation of the Department of Education with the saving of the New University of Ulster and notes that the SDLP has already welcomed the March 1982 proposal to merge it with the Ulster Polytechnic as a solution to the problem.

"However," it adds, "the precise nature of the new institution is at present too vague and we would point to the danger of the polytechnic monopolizing third level education provision in the Belfast area." This is not meant to suggest that the polytechnic may swallow up Queen's University; rather it is a warning against the proposed removal of some specialist subjects from the three Belfast colleges of education.

The manifesto continues that a clear definition of the new institution's function must be declared if higher education provision in Derry is not to suffer. "We strongly assert Derry's right to university education and believe that this can only be ensured by an ordered implementation of the 1982 proposals", the party says.



Brian Feeney, candidate in North Belfast

The nationalist wind will blow away the Scotch myths

by Olga Wajias
Scottish Correspondent

The Scottish National Party has one of the most radical policies on education. It maintains that Scottish education is failing conspicuously to meet the social, economic and political needs of the country, and needs to be fundamentally restructured, with the emphasis on lifelong education.

But at present, says the party, it is impossible to consider all branches of education as a whole, with bodies such as the University Grants Committee and the Manpower Services Commission based south of the border. And even although there is a Scottish Education Department, it is frequently obliged to follow the policy of the Department of Education and Science.

"Only in an independent Scotland will the long term neglect of Scottish education be reversed," says the party's manifesto.

"There is a gap between the public perception of Scottish education and its reality," says SNP education spokesman Mr Ken Reid. "People hold on to the myth that it's something special, but we now have fewer children undertaking any form of post school education than any of our major European competitors, with almost 60 per cent of Scots youngsters leaving school with no or minimal qualifications."

The SNP has pledged to restore the education cuts, and to create an additional 40,000 places in higher education. It also proposes a National Apprenticeship Scheme giving young people jobs as part of a national plan using revenues from oil, which it says are this year worth £1m an hour.

It guarantees student grants for all over-16s in post school education, without any assessment of parental income.

The universities must come under a Scottish parliament, says the party, and although it is campaigning for independence rather than a devolved Scottish assembly, it believes that if an assembly were established, it should control the universities.

The universities have a greater impact on Scotland than south of the border, says Mr Reid since both the specialized honours degree and broad based ordinary degree are offered. Many of Scotland's university students would probably attend polytechnics if they were being educated in England or Wales. Because of this, any overview of tertiary education must include the universities, says the SNP.

The universities themselves opposed being devolved in 1979, but the SNP believes that since the 1981 cuts, there is a strong feeling among academics that they would fare better under a Scottish UGC, working on a system of quinquennial planning.

The party proposes establishing a Scottish Academy of Arts to award research grants from Scottish government finance through six research councils: social science/education; science and technology; medicine; agriculture/forestry/fisheries; natural environment; and arts, which would encourage research in Scottish literature, languages, history and culture.



Ken Reid, SNP education spokesman

It also proposes a ninth Scottish university, based in Inverness, on the college system of the University of Wales, with, for example, a centre for Nordic studies in Shetland and a fishing college in Stornoway. A Highland university would also include a Gaelic college, and a Gaelic library would be set up as a national resource.

There should also be a Scottish Open University emphasizing the Scottish heritage, says the SNP, since inevitably, much of the Open University material is English.

The SNP wants to set up a Scottish Council for National Academic Awards, with representatives from the Scottish universities, central institutions, colleges of education and further education colleges, industry, commerce, and the Scottish Business Education Council and Scottish Technical Education Council.

There is a need for more flexibility and cooperation within post school education, and a need for a coordinating body, says Ken Reid, but without Scottish control of the whole tertiary sector, this cannot be achieved. "Given proper political control, Scotland is a small enough nation for an overall national plan to work," he says.

"It couldn't be done on an English basis. But because Scotland is small, we can do it without fantastic amounts of disruption, and with good will it could be achieved within five or ten years."

The SNP's one word of praise for the present Government is that it has at least introduced on all graduate teaching profession. The SNP believes there should be a considerable expansion in teacher education.

Classes in the first two years of primary school should be no bigger than 20, and local rural schools should be retained. Failing school rolls should be an opportunity for education improvement, not for cuts, it says.

The SNP advocates comprehensive education, and would not finance private schooling. People should be able to come back into the educational system at any age, and the party says it would support and encourage employers to release employees for further education. It adds that there should be further education facilities for all categories of handicapped young people.

The other large party, Sinn Féin, does not mention education in its manifesto at all. Its only concern is that it should be run from Dublin.

Where the alliance of academics stands firm

by David Jobbins

With one half initially styled the "academics' party", it would be cause for some surprise if the Alliance had failed to put a comprehensive and coherent post school education policy high on its list of priorities.

An interest in and experience of higher education is, however, not the sole preserve of the Social Democrats, who unfairly earned the sobriquet they feel because of the high proportion of academics who lent their names to the party's launch.

Liberal leader Mr David Steel, who is rector of Edinburgh University, was prominent in his party's politics at the university when he was a student. But he has been a consistent public critic of the Conservatives' approach to the universities, overseas students and grants over the past four years.

And his chief whip and education spokesman since 1977, Mr Alun Bell, was a lecturer in politics at Newcastle University before entering Parliament in 1973.

The SDP's president, Mrs Shirley Williams, 11 years a member of Labour's national executive before decamping as one of the "gang of four", had two spells in the Department of Education and Science.

The first was as Minister of State in Mr Wilson's second period of office in the 1960s — and the second as Secretary of State from 1976-79.

SDP education spokesman Mr Tom McNolly and Mr John Roper, also have close ties. Mr McNolly was a vice president of the National Union of Students in the mid-1960s while Mr Roper taught economics at Manchester University between 1962 and 1970.

In the background are Professor David Marquand, former MP for Ashfield, who holds the chair in contemporary history and politics at Salford, and was a lecturer at Sussex

University before he entered Parliament — and Sir Peter Swinnerton-Dyer, the next chairman of the University Grants Committee, who as a member of the Council for Social Democracy left his mark firmly stamped on the party's education policies before his new job forced him to forswear party politics.

The SDP's main policy document was published earlier this year and put before the Council for Social Democracy in Newcastle at the end of January. It was due to go back to the council in Birmingham two weeks ago for further refinement. But the general election intervened and further consultations within the party were put off until the autumn.

Despite the tentative way the SDP had put its suggestions for radical reform forward, it was still possible for two of its education team, Mrs Anne Sofer and Lord Kilmarnock, to sit down with the Liberals to seek a common denominator for a full blooded Alliance programme.

Mr Roper recalls there was little difficulty in arriving at the joint proposals. "Between February and April they went through the policies of the two parties and tried not necessarily to produce a synthesis but to identify areas where there were differences of approach and see if there was a basis for agreement."

Post school education was one of the main policy headings where this process proved easier than in others. It is reasonable to assume that the Alliance policies have more in common with those being put forward by the Labour Party than the Conservatives. Again this is less than surprising — the Liberals have always been regarded as a socially progressive party while education is not one of the areas the Alliance regards as diagnostically distinctive from Labour.

There are of course differences — Labour has a tougher line on the Oxbridge imbalance towards the independent schools and towards absolute democratization of the UGC.

But post school education is one of the few areas where the Alliance has more in common with the Labour Party than not, unlike defence, trade union reform and Common Market membership. It certainly would not be one of the issues binding a conceivable post election pact.

Points of contact with the Conservatives are less evident. The SDP's white paper made clear its intention to tip the balance in higher education towards the needs of society and the economy but this does not necessarily square with the Conservatives' desire for even greater emphasis on science and technology.

The Liberals were early in the field with a policy document almost a year ago setting out the case for central coordination of a diversified higher education system.

The party proposed a small body comprised of local authority representatives and teaching staff from polytechnics and colleges. This, it suggested, should ultimately be superseded by one body, bringing the universities under its wing instead of the UGC's, which the party regards as unacceptable.

The SDP's white paper questioned the need for the maintenance of the binary line and promised consideration of a new body to succeed both the UGC and the national advisory body on public sector higher education working to clear priorities and criteria determined by the Government.

The joint manifesto pledges increased access to higher education — and a complete review of its structure — to see that people who work in industry are provided with the right

range of skills at this level." The SDP has however put more and controversial flesh on the bones of this policy. It suggested in its white paper a two-year degree in which all undergraduates would study both arts and science subjects — although it would be open to them to lean towards one major area of study.

On completion of this two-year degree, the SDP expects that most graduates would go into employment, later completing either a further two-year professional qualification in areas such as law, teaching, social work, or engineering — or a further one or two years' academic study.

An integral part of the move to two-year degree courses would almost necessarily be a revision of the academic year with greater use made of the vacations.

Both steps imply potentially sweeping changes for research. Almost without exception, academics regard the long vacation as an opportunity for research uninterrupted by undergraduate teaching commitments. It is difficult to see how two-year degree courses even at general level, could be achieved without biting deeply into this hallowed time.

The SDP's proposed cash programme to expand higher education was designed to meet three tightly-defined criteria — opportunities for people born between 1963 and 1966 whose chances have been blighted by the Conservatives' cuts; special access for mature, part time or disadvantaged students; or to subject areas of national economic importance.

Both parties are agreed on the need for aid specifically for unemployed school leavers. The Alliance promises a "major reorganization" of education and training for the 10-19s, ongoing the two within the scope of one Ministry.



John Hume, leader of the SDLP

Graham Hills proposes a means of revitalizing higher education and raises the controversial issue of

If you believe that Britain's system of higher education is fundamentally sound and that all that is amiss could be rectified by a little more cash, then you will not agree with much of this. It is my thesis that any system, any economy and any organization works well during periods of growth. External and internal needs are satisfied sufficiently for critical analysis to be resisted or ignored.

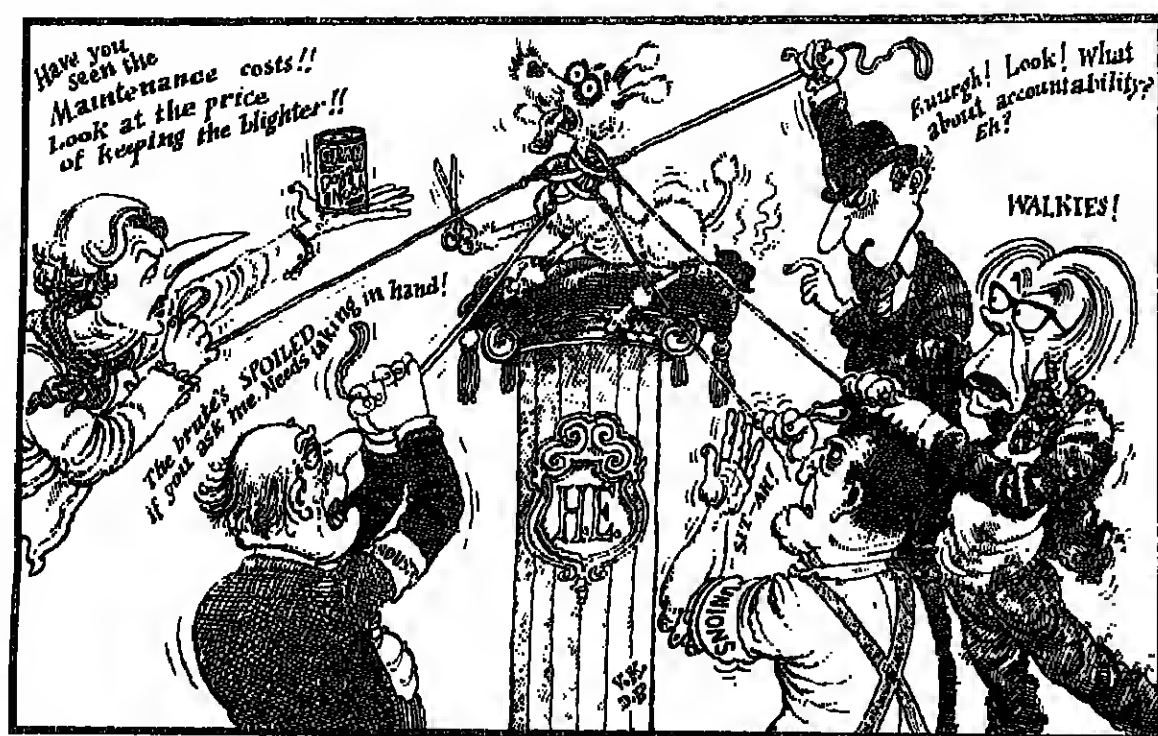
The well-being of the arrangements is seldom questioned until the moment when growth is arrested. It is then that the failings of the system become apparent, often painfully so. I suspect this is now the position of British universities. Edward Parkes observed that the University Grants Committee and its committees were designed for growth, not stagnation. The same might be said of the whole country.

The reaction to this calamity is the same as to any other. Blame is apportioned, culprits identified and lack of sympathy bestowed. The retreat to the heartland becomes a conforming process of strengthening the establishment, re-affirming the core of beliefs and practices which brought the system to its present state. Such was the period following July 1981 when the UGC examined and compared the universities on a linear scale of forthright merit stretching from Oxford at the end to Salford at the other. The University Grants Committee, the research councils and the Royal Society defended the uneven treatment. Mutterings that, with a bit more backbone, the powers that might have decently finished off some of the more severely wounded were only just kept in the background. Ironically but not surprisingly, in the process of healing which followed, hardly any selective cuts were actually made. Dead wood meant old wood and the AUT's sabre rattling deterred even the most hawkish of vice chancellors. Efforts to reduce tuition subsidies. By 1981, it was more or less "two is only power and more firmly dependent on government patronage, on haphazard infusion of "new blood" and on bits falling off the passing bandwagons of information technology and biotechnology. Nothing was learned from the catastrophe, either from comparison with other systems overseas or from searching examination of our own plight.

Thoughts that disaffection might have causes and that it might persist unless those causes were remedied were aired and forgotten. Another of my theses is that the causes are deep-seated. They are described in the various forms of the ivory tower syndrome eg "universities are complacent and self-satisfied", "universities are mainly interested in satisfying their internal needs", "universities are predominantly academic bodies, not interested in vocational studies, except perhaps medicine law", "universities are privileged bodies, difficult to get into, impossible to be thrown out of" (Tom Sharpe, Malcolm Bradbury); "universities were superior bodies and in a different league from that of, say, polytechnics"; universities are of little help to industry, that is why British industry is defence, Noble Prize winners - video recorders - no", and so on. Such generalizations are, of course, only fractionally true, but their persistence suggests that all is far from well. So where do we go now?

All countries need (and most countries provide) a wide spectrum of possibilities in university education. Such possibilities encompass considerable latitude in the breadth, the depth and the pace of learning which brings them into immediate conflict with this country's preoccupation with the single honours degree. Few would doubt that the single honours degree is a suitable basis for specialization and research. It may be true that Britain produces gifted graduates in the shortest period of time. However, for the majority of students the educational process is needlessly intense and specialized and in the end to no great purpose.

It is therefore argued that within most universities, there needs to be a greater variety of options, of different kinds of academic pathways suited to the variety of students and skills to be found in the students themselves. Parallel or sequential degree courses might terminate at the ordinary level, at the present honours level or, for engineers, scientists and doctors, at the professional level. The time taken to reach these progressively higher levels of attainment is not important and



Developing individually

might whenever possible incorporate some sandwich element or a period in an overseas university. If education is truly that which remains when what was taught is forgotten, then there is ample scope to train a variety of minds in a variety of ways best suited to each student and less confining to the schools that prepare them.

It is the inolithic character of British universities which is their most striking defect. It was ever true that this country needed not more of the same but rather a variety of university types and functions. It needs urgently to encourage a diversity of functions so that universities can evolve. It needs a range of excellent universities such as Oxford, Oberlin and Heidelberg to excellent technological universities such as Imperial College, Stanford and Zürich. In between these are excellent great cities with wider units and less focused aims.

These are not exclusive categories of fundamentally different universities. They are merely examples of different kinds of excellence. There would need

There is no permanent preconceived mix of the different kinds of university. The idea of permanent centres of excellence is a nonsense.

only to be broad agreement about the levels and range of studies within these categories. There is no permanent, preconceived mix of the different kinds of university. The idea of permanent centres of excellence is a nonsense.

However, if we are all to attempt a reasonable spread we are doomed. It has been this country's besetting sin to have tried to do everything on a totally inadequate base. The same is true of British universities and in seeking to provide a pleasant uniformity of type, attitude, structure and degrees we have failed, at least in the country's estimation, to make the most of the wealth creating potential of higher education. Failure has been widely discussed. We have been criticized by governments of the left and of the right for lacking relevance, for being privileged, for being too expensive and now for being too numerous. We have few friends and are easily portrayed as precious anachronisms.

The transition from the present uniform system to that of, say, differentiated graduate activity would require ingenuity. Brutal and immediate directives to institutions would be resisted and individual scholarship at all levels is hardly to be proscribed. The transition would be more acceptable against a background of greatly increased staff mobility within the university system and of incentives to pursue paths of excellence other than those of published scholarly research. It is generally not appreciated how

much bias and therefore how much damage is done to universities, to polytechnics and to schools by the concentration on written examinations as the only reliable criteria of ability. Certainly, the written examination for entry to the civil service was a great step forward to the meritocracy. Objectivity is no mean achievement but if the meritocracy is to be based only on that which can be objectively evaluated on a quantitative scale, then what will happen to the other virtues such as reliability, creativity, dexterity, ingenuity, adaptability which are not easily measured on a numerical basis?

The answer is that they will be downgraded as they have been in most universities and schools. Practical work, team work, and even project work count less. Practical examinations have all disappeared. The provision for practical work in schools is now less than one penny per pupil per lesson. The bias towards solitary scholarship and towards written evidence of academic ability is therefore strong. Plato rules OK and, as we are constantly reminded, although the nation's intellect flourishes, its capacity to design and make does not. We are becoming a country of the gifted poor.

Because modern society is the expression of so much knowledge and sophisticated technology, any discussion of what is right or wrong with the university system reaches into every corner of society. All we can do and should do is to maximize society's capabilities by diminishing its rigidity.

In the university context, this means a greater diversity of forms and of functions. Given only this diversity, the future will take care of itself. The desirable will flourish, the outmoded will wither. And who will decide what is outmoded? Why, the customers, the students, the staff, the research councils, and not least British industry which pays for the universities and receives its graduates. These represent our principal feed-back loop. We have neglected that feedback to the point where central government itself is determined to effect the changes it considers necessary for the university system. If these changes were to be those recommended here, I would be delighted. However, I fear that the forces of July 1981 are still at work and I doubt whether central government has either the understanding or the will to do what is required. It is therefore a matter of urgency that the universities set about the business of reforming the establishment by means of their self-government by means of that degree of independence which was the *raison d'être* of the original UGC.

The principal reason for the universities' subject and object state is their total dependence on central government for their means of support. The dangers of this comfortable state went largely unnoticed until the 1950s, the 1960s and even the 1970s when all was growth. There was enough for everyone and few considered that the hand that fed us might one day stop doing so.

The alternative to excessive dependence on central government is independence of it. That independence can only come about on a basis of financial independence. What is not proposed is a new system for shoring up the privileges of universities nor is any case made deliberately for privatization; universities are too important to be other than an estate of the realm.

The only alternative source of university finance is the student fee. The present fee is an arbitrary fraction of the economic cost. It was recently halved in case universities might succumb to the temptation of more students, more income. Some who did have just been fined. In most socialist countries the fee is effectively zero although the maintenance grant has invariably to be found by the student.

There is no reason for low fees except that such an arrangement allows the central to be exercised by the grant giving body. Successive governments have taken the view that it is their duty to see that our money is well spent. To disguise true costs in an arbitrary level of fees is not a good way of doing this.

It is therefore proposed that universities should be supported entirely from free income, ie from undergraduate and postgraduate fees, from grants, from the research councils and from industry. The dual support system and all it stands for should remain but the UGC block grant should be obtained in a different way. It follows that student fees should be full cost fees, ie economic fees for each category of subject, and from this simplest of arrangements advantages immediately follow.

It is therefore proposed that undergraduates would obtain their support from a system of vouchers. These would be for all potential students.

In brief, individual universities would be invited to stand on their own feet, to make their own decisions, to chart their own futures, and to make their own particular contribution to undergraduate and postgraduate education, and to research and development.

No sudden change in the scale or disposition of the financial support for universities is possible. Incomes, taxation levels and, most importantly, attitudes condition what is currently done. It is therefore proposed (and this is not new) that undergraduates would obtain their support from a system of vouchers. These would be for all potential students. For all those over 17 there would be an as-of-right entitlement to one voucher for every year of enrolled on, say, three of arts, four for engineering and five for medicine. Five vouchers depending on the course enrolled on, say, three for arts, four for engineering and five for medicine.

Students would be free to enrol at any university accepting them and universities would continue to determine their entrance requirements. The vouchers would be cashed at the university concerned and in turn by the Department of Education and Science.

In the beginning, the value of each particular voucher would be approximately equal to the combined cost of the economic fee and the student maintenance grant. To a first approximation then, neither the student nor central government would be aware of significant change. On the other hand, local authorities would no longer be involved, a simplification and saving on administration greatly to be welcomed.

The voucher is intended to meet two separate costs: the fee and the maintenance grant. The fee should be for all the costs of running the universities and second to remind everyone, students, staff, parents and industry, just what it costs to train an engineer or a doctor. Subsidies, especially hidden subsidies, are ever debilitating and never in the long-term public interest. It may then be that the provision required for a modern world-class university system at present approximation. It follows that either the student enrolment would need to be reduced or the fee element of the voucher would need to be increased. The consequential reduction in the maintenance grant would then need to be borne by the student, by means of a parental contribution, a loan system or, as in North America, by vocation work. None of these is free from objection but they remain as the necessary price to pay for a greater participation rate.

Now we come to the objections and counter-arguments. Would not the proposed arrangements unleash a free-for-all competition between universities? They might, but this is not a serious failing of the North American system. But just to be sure, and if only to maintain continuity, the UGC might be reinstated, to ensure fair play and to oversee the system as it does at present. This it would do by imposing a levy on all universities of, say, 10 per cent of their total fee income.

The new style UGC would thus derive its income and authority from the universities themselves. It would certainly not be an appendage to the DES. It would revert to its old status, akin to the General Medical Council or the governing body of the BBC. It would be a statutory body on which a variety of external interests would be represented, especially those of industry. The external representatives might well constitute a majority and the chairman would be elected. Such a body would sustain the important features of the UGC, namely its capacity for disinterested peer judgment and its responsibility for independently ensuring the well-being of the university system.

One of its more important functions would be to represent the universities, as it does now, in the annual reconciliation of the cash limit and student numbers. It would not be without teeth. A mean, recalcitrant government would bear the obloquy of being directly responsible for restricted enrolments or, more likely, a greater gap between the voucher value and the combined cost of fee and maintenance. This gap is the bargaining counter between the universities and central government. It may not be much but it is better than nothing, which is our present position.

The new style UGC would perform all the functions of the present UGC and most of the trades union bargaining activities of the Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals. This latter body would become redundant. It still would be highly qualified to undertake the large, more positive duties of the new, independent UGC.

At least two formidable objections remain. The first derives from the fears of those universities who believe they benefit most from the present system of patronage. They are by and large the expensive universities, Oxford, Cambridge and, say, Imperial College. They might have much to lose from more egalitarian arrangements. However, it would be entirely possible for those universities to charge higher fees, as will those who offer more expensive subjects. Higher fees should be charged for greater benefits. To hide all this away in college fees and other charges in oughty. Those who enjoy special facilities will happily pay for them and enjoy them all the more

student loans

as is plainly evident in the flourishing public school system. But if it were thought unseemly that all this would lead to cut-price competition, then just as easily standard fees could be recommended (and enforced) by the UGC.

Then there is the postgraduate dimension. Research councils, charities and other bodies making postgraduate research awards might be alarmed at the prospect of full cost fees. However, since postgraduate research students are desirable commodities who, it can be argued, are the most effective research assistants, is there any reason why they continue to be paid at such a beggarly rate? The remedy is simple. They should not be charged fees at all and the present fee element should be used for augmenting their maintenance awards. Universities, departments, professors and others would need to ask themselves more seriously the question - "Is this research worthwhile?" Some of the sciences might suffer under such arrangements but the engineers should rejoice. They might even attract significant numbers of research students which at present they do not.

The second objection will come from the National Union of Students. To a first approximation, it cherishes the socialist idea of higher education for all, without consideration of the cost, the cost to the primary schools, the secondary schools, the National Health Service. This defence of the present arrangements, which admits no sacrifice by those already in higher education, is a selfish attitude, the moral foundation of which is that of any other form of capitalism. If we are to double the participation rate, if we are to bring into the fold all those who in Robbins words could benefit from higher education, then those who currently benefit must share their privileged position. This is not to suppose that students are well off. They are not and we should assume that hardly any could meet the full cost fee. Some will have parents that can but most will not. It will therefore be essential that any system of loans be generous, guaranteed and at a low rate of interest. Moreover, the repayments should be income-linked so that the rate of repayment will reflect the ability to repay. There is merit in these arrangements. First, the present parental contribution would disappear and, with it, is unsatisfactory and unfair aspects. This would be fairer to students and fairer to parents who should not be taxed twice. It would need to be evident that the loan element was not used simply to reduce the government's contribution to higher education. It is essential that it be used to increase the participation rate. Otherwise, the students' sacrifice would be seen to be without purpose and would be resisted all the more.

Under the present arrangements, many students, rich and poor, are denied entry to higher education, not because there is no room for them or no desire to teach them, but because there is no money to support them at the going rate. Many universities would this year have taken more students, especially in engineering and science, and taken them for practically nothing. This we were not allowed to do. Within the confines of cash limits, universities were not allowed to make their contribution even by sacrifice or by economy. That cannot be right.

So it comes to this. British universities are perfectly able to manage their own affairs. They are at least as well informed as central government of the needs and aspirations of their two main customers, their students and the industries that pay for them. They are capable of running themselves responsibly, economically and efficiently, especially if they are susceptible to change.

Universities are at present on the defensive. They cling to outmoded ways like any other threatened species. There is no need for this. Universities produce the country's greatest asset, its trained people. Recognition of this will not come as the result of anguished cries for help or by public relations campaigns in defence of what may see as a still privileged position in society. There is a good to be done and we should get on with doing it, that job into sustaining the system of university (higher) education on basis of sturdy independence and social responsibility. Governments have more than enough to do in running their own affairs. We should not be afraid to run ours and to invite the polytechnics and others to join us.

The author is principal and vice chancellor of Strathclyde University.

Foray into the political marketplace

Michael Thomas asks whether political advertising should carry a health warning

Soap-boxes and politicians have a long time association. The development of the art of marketing politicians and political parties has taken place over a rather shorter period of time than the development of the art of marketing soaps and detergents. Curiously, though we spend a lot of time discussing the marketing problems of soap, we seem to pay very little attention to political marketing and the many issues that it raises. Yet "Anyone who thinks that the methods employed by politicians in persuading the electors and each other, and the ends for which they employ these means, are morally superior to the methods and aims of persuasion in business is of course free to go on thinking so."

In my view the similarities between soap marketing and political marketing are remarkable in terms of means, though ends are fundamentally different. Schumpeter warned: "The picture of the prettiest girl that ever lived will in the long run prove powerless to maintain the sales of a bad cigarette. There is no equally effective safeguard in the case of political decisions. Many decisions of fateful importance are of a nature that makes it impossible for the public to experiment with them at its leisure and at moderate cost. Even if that is possible, judgment is as a rule not so easy to arrive at as in the case of the cigarette, because effects are less easy to interpret."

That the subject of political marketing is neglected is a statement based on my examination of the easily accessible literature of marketing, consumerism, political science and sociology. Perhaps I have been looking in the wrong places. I remember reading a quite shocking book many years ago - *The Selling of the President* by Joe McGinniss - which demonstrated how well the lessons of packaging and product launch had been learned by the Republican Party in the United States. Since that presidential election in 1968 the art of marketing politics has developed and matured.

It may be argued that no one is particularly concerned about the subject because political parties have been totally converted to the marketing concept. Perhaps the political parties believe that their policies are now oriented to the ultimate consumer/voter and that their approach to campaigning is now firmly based upon the marketing research feedback provided by their market research firms and/or advertising agencies. Thus, democracy is more democratic than ever before!

I met a man in Philadelphia three years ago who heads a very large market research firm. He told me of his concern that much of his business came from politicians who employed his firm to send posters out ahead of them on the campaign trail, so that every speech was tailored made to the concerns of the voters in each community. The utilities in consumer/voter orientation? Or unprincipled and cynical manipulation, of the "sell them what they want to hear" variety? Is voters' ability to discern the quality of persuasion, to discern good from bad, moral from immoral (the usual defence of persuasion in advertising) the only safeguard needed?

I have a professional interest in the education and training of both marketing managers and marketing researchers. The responsibilities of market researchers and pollsters particularly concern me. It is not in my view entirely satisfactory for market researchers and pollsters to work their hands, like Pilate-like, in these matters. Politics is rather more important than soap in terms of its lasting effect on the quality of our lives.

As in many aspects of decision-making in marketing, market researchers believe that their job is to try to establish the behaviour and attitudes of respondents, as well as seeking facts about, and the opinions of, respondents as objectively as they can. It is the marketing managers or campaign managers, and their staff who decide how to make use of the data.



ELECTIONS
DANGER: Government Health WARNING:
CIGARETTES CAN SERIOUSLY DAMAGE YOUR HEALTH

In modern politics I suspect that the advertising agency (concerned with data collection, analysis and then execution) is becoming dominant in the decision-making hierarchy. In the field of fast-moving consumer goods it is also possible to support the hypothesis that advertising campaigns can make or break a brand. In politics the influence of television must have given those who advise the political parties on the use of the medium very considerable influence indeed.

I do not need to remind you of the role of Satchi and Satchi, who, as media advisers to the Conservative Party, have in some quarters become regarded as the architects of Mrs Thatcher's victory. Their subsequent commercial fortunes may not be unrelated to their demonstrated success in marketing her particular brand of Conservatism. None of the other political parties can afford anything less than the best agencies in the face of such competition, an agonizing problem for under-financed parties.

Acknowledging the importance of the media to the political process immediately raises questions in my mind about safeguards. The Advertising Standards Authority has from its inception not touched political advertising with a barge pole. I quote: "The Scope of the Code. Political and religious advertisements, the essence of which is to argue a case rather than promote the sale of goods, are specially treated under the Code. See page 13."

The relevant section of page 13 reads: "Interpretation of the Code. Provided always that the advertiser concerned is named and an address given to which correspondence may be directed, the Code imposes no restrictions, in regard either to expressions of opinion or assertions of fact, upon claims in advertisements concerned with matters of political, religious, social or aesthetic controversy." Thus there is no watchdog to be found there.

The Independent Broadcasting Authority Code, particularly paragraph nine, fails to admit that party political broadcasts are a form of advertising. "No advertisement may be inserted by or on behalf of any body, the objects whereof are wholly or mainly of a political nature, and no advertisement may be directed towards any political end. No advertisement may show partiality in respect of matters of political or industrial controversy or relating to any current policy." If those words mean anything, I would judge that they do not allow Her Majesty's Government to use television or radio to advertise controversial policies.

The Committee on Party Political Broadcasting appears to be very secretive. It was formed *ad hoc* and continues to be recalled *ad hoc*. It appears to operate in a smoke-filled room and its critics see it as a device dominated by the two major parties. Since it controls the allocation of all party political broadcast time (both radio and television) it has great power.

It seems to me that we have yet to have a proper public examination and debate about the relationship between the parties and what is spent on political marketing, of which data collection is a part. It can be argued that the more money spent on political marketing, the larger your market share is likely to be. The caveat applies to all product advertising, namely that advertising only works if the product lives up to the promises made for it.

In Britain we have something approaching a mature duopoly where the barrier to entry for third parties is very high indeed. Today we are challenged to examine the equity of the situation. The present market leader, already spending rather more than its previously closest competitor, and with a potentially much larger budget at its disposal, is proposing to make the political levy illegal. This is the device whereby its rival financed its marketing effort. Further, we have a new product launch in prospect, the Alliance brand, facing all the problems and risks of attacking the barriers to entry that face a newcomer to a maturely duopolistic market. Though it must be said (as of all new products) that voters (consumers) have few attitudes, beliefs and perceptions of the Alliance Party (compared with the Conservative and Labour parties) which may be to that party's advantage.

I hope that the analogy is not too contrived. I do believe that wide public scrutiny of the issues touched on above will strengthen the democratic process. For there are already on the agenda some difficult and contentious issues, such as a more equitable system for financing political marketing and the matter of using taxpayers' money to support controversial Government policies.

The United States system for generating presidential candidates has been adversely affected by a number of factors, one of which is undoubtedly the costs in money and time of marketing would-be candidates - good people now appear to abhor the process. The cost barrier makes it almost impossible for third parties to have anything but a marginal impact on political debate.

It has been argued that, more than other types of advertising, political advertising is widely debated and criticized in the editorial pages and programmes of the media. It is never the sole source of information and it is particularly open to discredit and ridicule. The last best hope? I wonder? Should political advertising carry a health warning?

If the existing political marketing system is not conducive to the continuing health of the electoral process, I would like to propose the following agenda for discussion and debate.

All election broadcasting should be reformed, to the end that society and voters are better served, with the implication that the control of the political parties be correspondingly reduced.

The method of financing of elections must change and private financing must be replaced by a tax on all voters. The distribution of this election fund could be based on relative strength in the previous general election or on a bidding system. The political parties would be free to choose how they spent their own share of the fund, that is they could decide how much to put into programme production, poster advertising, radio spots, etc. Political parties would not be able to top up their election fund with private donations, and all expenditures on political marketing would be publicly monitored.

The Committee on Party Political Broadcasting should be abolished and replaced by a joint BBC/IBA committee (BBC) which would be wholly responsible for allocating broadcasting time to politicians and political parties. Party political broadcasts as we now know them would be scrapped and replaced with programmes judged by the BBC to be of informative rather than propaganda oriented.

Finally, though perhaps this is where the objective equity should begin, we need a thorough analysis of the role and impact of opinion polling on the political process. I do not think anyone would doubt that the pollsters are now a dominant force in election and political newsmaking. The broadcasting media and the print media all subscribe heavily to opinion polling and use poll results as a basis for news items and editorializing.

The pollsters themselves (relatively few in number, five companies dominating the business in this country) have no qualms about defending their activities. Though it could hardly be said that they could be objective, since they have a substantial financial stake in the future of opinion polling.

I am not an opponent of the process, but it is in my view imperative that some objective research be undertaken to assess both the positive and negative effects of polling - and clearly opinion polls create some problems, particularly of the tactical voting type. The pollsters regularly argue that banning the publication of poll results immediately before polling day would be entirely wrong (the danger of unofficial polling, rumour mongering, etc.). Yet in the interests of democracy we should hear the other side of the case and try to reach an independent judgment.

We are in the middle of a general election and every day brings ample evidence of political marketing. My plea is for us to analyse the development of this process before serious damage is done to our democracy.

The author is senior lecturer in marketing at Lancaster University.

BOOKS

Third party cover

by S. A. Walkland

Liberal Party Politics
edited by Vernon Bogdanor
Oxford University Press, £17.50
ISBN 0 19 827465 3

The Almanac of British Politics
by Robert Waller
Croom Helm, £12.95
ISBN 0 7099 2767 3

Vernon Bogdanor of Brunel has done more for centre-ground politics in Britain with his recent spate of publications than anyone since Professor S. E. Finer. This compilation of essays by distinguished academics under his editorship gives belated attention to a political party which has consistently since 1945 refused to lie down under the dominance of the big battalions. It is in far better shape now than when I belonged to it in the early 1960s, when it languished under Butskellism and appeared to have as much political nous as a wet flannel. Intellectual excitement was confined to endless debate on site-value mining, discussion of which in Liberal circles at that time have reached the status of the higher metaphysics. It was this experience which led me ultimately to join the Social Democrats, as being rather more hard-headed.

The mighty nineteenth-century Liberal Party died of political arthritis—an inability to adjust and develop its intellectual categories to comprehend the new class politics of the early twentieth century. I approached this volume of essays to find out how well prepared the modern Liberal Party is to benefit from a period of marked class decomposition, which might yet bring it to its inheritance. The collection is a mixed one from this point of view. William Wallace shows how the party survived the 1950s and revived in the 1960s, concentrating realistically as it turns out, on improvements in internal organization. Isolated political incidents such as Suez in the 1950s, and changes in the party's leadership, especially the emergence of Jo Grimond after 1956. There is little emphasis on changing social structures, economic decline and other secular trends which might be thought of as being of more importance. He does note Grimond's perception that the future of the Liberal Party after 1965 was bound up with the exhaustion of the Labour Party's potential after the failure of Gaitskell's reforming efforts, but he doesn't develop its implications. He is good at illustrating the mechanics of the two-party squeeze on the Liberals, with the main parties consistently appropriating ground which the Liberals had marked out, and his section on the period 1975-1981 demonstrates David Steel's political realism in welcoming rather than resenting the rise of the SDP, on the grounds that the immediate task was (and still remains) to do the maximum damage to the Labour Party.

In search of deeper analysis I turned to the essay by John Curtice, "Liberal Voters and the Alliance: realignment or protest?" This essay is rather better—it coldly analyses the nature and character of Liberal support in the post-war period, and concentrates on a social-structural approach. Its conclusions must be disappointing and baffling to the party. The impression that Liberal support has a socially rootless character is confirmed by numerous polls and analyses. The core of constant supporters seemingly constitutes a rather small proportion of the total vote for the party at any one time. Curtice also concludes that the emergence of the SDP and the Alliance has not significantly changed this picture—the Alliance has not yet carved out a distinctive socio-economic section of the electorate as its original supporters. Its appeal is spread thinly across the country and across the classes. As a result it is particularly vulnerable to the first-past-the-post electoral system, and desperately needs PR for a breakthrough. Reluctantly I have to admit that this chimes in with my own recent experience of Alliance politics. What was the basis of this philosophy of policy might go to explain this



The Liberal Party conference in 1966: Jo Grimond with David Steel, then 27.

inability to strike deep and permanent roots? Vernon Bogdanor's introduction is useful here. He characterizes the dilemma of how to preserve liberal values in an increasingly illiberal world. "Themes such as participation and decentralization lie at the heart of Liberalism. They presuppose an electorate which is at least potentially liberal, tolerant, fair and able to be convinced by rational argument", and asks, rhetorically, whether such a philosophy is appropriate to the Britain of the 1980s. The answer has to be a qualified "no". But is explains why Liberal policies all too often seem to smell of the lamp, and to have little connexion with either *realpolitik* or voters' preferences, a conclusion which is only confirmed by the short, idealistic essay by Michael Brock on "The Liberal Tradition". There seems little realization here that politics is about power; a similar reluctance to see where the obstacles to liberalism lie in

Britain, which is almost uniquely in the Labour Party and the trade union movement; and an inability to understand that liberal values have occasionally to be protected by illiberal means. I don't subscribe to the view that such realism essentially compromises the philosophy; there is after all such a thing as a just war.

All the tensions within the party between ethos and programme, idealism and practicality, are brought to a head in Andrew Gamble's masterly essay on "Liberalism and the Economy". It is all here—Grimond's virulent anti-statism, the "no-growth" brigade, the reliance on reason and persuasion to produce new industrial relationships and an incomes policy, and the recent development in the leadership of a mild dirigiste philosophy, which is still much resented in sections of the party. Fortunately, David Steel carries little for Liberal philosophy—the SDP ought to swap him for Roy Jenkins, the quintes-

sentual Asquithian Liberal. Gamble's conclusion is that the Liberals now have a coherent economic policy on its own terms, but he concludes by asking whether it could survive the present pressures bearing on British economic management. Again the answer must be a qualified no.

Lack of space precludes comment on the other good essays in the volume, by Denis Kavanagh on the party's organization, and Philip Norton on the Liberals in Parliament. But Alan Butt Philip's essay on the Liberals and Europe should be mentioned, to remind us that it was the Liberals who clung firm to the European idea when the main parties were wallowing in Great Power nostalgia and costing this country dear. But what future for the Liberals and the Alliance generally? The power structure of British politics which it is assaulting has crumbled a bit at the edges, but superficially still remains substantially intact. It needs

more destruction from its own internal tensions before progress can be made. The way the General Election seems to be going promises just this. The blood-letting after Labour's post-mortem will help, and union leaders might begin to see the effort wasted in flinging a horse that can't deliver. With a Conservative victory, and inevitable further rises in unemployment, ultimately we might see some movement in that quarter. If by any chance Labour were to be returned, the subsequent financial crisis would create a new situation. What the Alliance has to do is stake out a unique position by amassing as many votes as it can, retain a respectable presence in Parliament, and laugh up its attitudes. Perhaps with just a little appeal to emotion, prejudice, bigotry, self-interest, which, as anyone who has done any canvassing knows, determines more political attitudes than ever did the light of sweet reason?

There are some compilations, like the telephone directory, the *Good Food Guide*, and for some, no doubt, Debreit and the *Almanac of Gotha*, without which life would be more difficult. The same can be said of *The Almanac of British Politics*, written by an enterprising Fellow of Magdalen, Oxford, and reflecting prodigious research and travel. It is a social/economic/political snapshot of every constituency in the UK, taking account of the recent boundary changes and invaluable for party agents, political commentators and anyone who is intimately engaged in this General Election. As the author notes, he has produced a new political map of Britain the constituencies which have never been tested in a General Election. Perhaps written from a Leftish position. As most readers will, I immediately turned to the description of my own patch, Sheffield, to learn that "Sheffield has one of the most progressive and successful local authorities in the country". Not surprising, since it is also the highest rated city in Britain, and even after paying the salaries of assorted political advisers and peace officers, the expenses of official visits to the Soviet Union for town-twinning and treaty-signing purposes, and the cost of the red flag which flies periodically from the Town Hall, there must be a lot of lolly left.

But this is an excellent publication—its predictions are cautious but seem to me on the whole sound, and I doubt whether much revision will be needed after June 9.

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too much "strategy" (international politics as a game of chess) and too little "domestic context" (foreign policy as the outcome of policy processes, economic opportunities and constraints, and political infighting over scarce resources). Cable is more concerned with "scenarios" than politics. At one point he writes: "What the Navy could do depends on the circumstances in which they are required to do it." But clearly, whatever the "scenario", British domestic politics will be the factor which determines whether the Navy has merely a sail-on role, or something grander.

Strategy may be concerned with ideas at least as much as technology, but in abjuring the narrowness of the "guns and ammo" brigade—whose books seem to be selling well in the post-Falklands climate—Sir James seems to have forgotten about the ships which actually are the centrepiece of naval strategy. It would not be unkind to point out that he has managed to write a longish book about the country's naval future without including the name of any single ship in his index. Equally, there is a lack of attention to the changes who actually make navies work, or not as the case may be (there is nothing, for example, on the Navy's manpower prospects—a major concern in a highly technological service). As a result of these omissions, *Britain's Naval Future* is a curiously lifeless book, despite the fact that its author's approach is traditional and historical, rather than theoretical or political science in style.

Written before the Falklands War, the book's publishing timetable did allow for some "first thoughts" on the subject to be squeezed into the preface. These are eminently sensible, namely,

that disregarding a threat does not make it disappear; that Britain cannot exclude the contingency of limited war; that the constraints imposed by allies are at least as important as the assistance they provide; that a navy can offer an option not otherwise available; and that the single scenario is a certifiable delusion.

Unlike some other thinkers about British defence, Sir James has rightly refused to allow his judgment to be affected by the one-off episode of the Falklands; and on this matter and others he offers the subtle and cautious advice which one would expect from a former diplomat who ended his career as Ambassador to Finland—that classroom for learning the art of the possible. Cable is particularly good on the uncertainty of future war at sea, the continuing justification for conventional forces, the variety of scenarios in which British forces might be employed, the enduring peacetime utility of naval forces, and the possible albeit limited role of British forces in distant waters.

In the course of discussing such matters, Cable offers his readers a sophisticated discussion of the role of seapower in modern strategy, from a perspective which is that of neither the navalist nor the hostile critic. It is

nostalgic however, and the author's fondness for underlining a point with a historical illustration from Britain's naval past will tend to confirm the minds of critics their belief that "surface fleets should have gone out of fashion with the loss of the British Empire."

Although Sir James is not a drum-thumping navalist, he does come down on the "maritime" side of the debate against the "continentalists" about the orientation of future British defence policy. "A case thus exists", the author concludes, as measured by the British contribution to Nato should progressively be realigned, away from territorial defence of the Central Front and towards air and naval defence of maritime communications and, with military assistance, the defence of Norway and the Islands of the North Atlantic.

Cable accepts that there will be a price to pay for partially withdrawing from Germany, including adding stress to an already strained alliance, but he is willing to pay the price. This is a rather unexpected conclusion given his emphasis on Nato as an organization to prevent war rather than win one, but in other respects, readers will understand Sir James's point, even if they do not necessarily agree with it.

Ken Booth

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BOOKS

Subject peoples

National Minorities in Europe 1848-1945

by Raymond Pearsoun
Macmillan, £14.00 and £4.95
ISBN 0 333 28888 2 and 28889 1

This is a useful book, a workmanlike and in some ways original discussion of the nationalisms which helped to destroy the Habsburg and Ottoman empires and which, for two decades or more after 1917, seemed to have amputated large parts of the Russian one.

For the student the most useful chapters may be the three which are most conventional: one which discusses, from the standpoint of the subject peoples concerned, the growth of nationalism in the Habsburg and Ottoman empires; another which treats the same phenomenon as seen by the ruling minority groups in these empires—Magyars, German Austrians and Russians; and a third which deals with minority problems in the interwar period. None of these says anything strikingly new, but each conveys clearly and concisely a large amount of basic information about a complex phenomenon.

More original is the discussion of the different ways in which a national group, sometimes still struggling towards full consciousness of its separate existence, could react to domination by an alien and competing one. Dr Pearsoun brings out well the almost complete ineffectiveness, after the Hungarian revolt of 1848-49, of efforts at outright resistance or physical confrontation. These by themselves failed to shake seriously the great multinational empires ruled by the Habsburgs or the Romanovs, or even the much more ramshackle domain of the Ottomans. He sometimes presses this point a little too far. In particular he plays down excessively the extent to which, by the end of the nineteenth century, Czech-German antagonism threatened political paralysis of the western half of the Habsburg territories. Nevertheless he is fully justified in pointing out that throughout this period it has been the struggles of the great powers rather than nationalist emotions which have made possible the establishment of new national states in east and south-east Europe and which have led to sometimes radical changes in their boundaries.

The creation of Rumania after the Crimean War, of Hungarian autonomy in 1867, of Bulgaria after 1877-78, of Yugoslavia after the First World War, make this point only too clearly. Given the ineffectiveness of the "right" option, oppressed or discontented national groups might fall back on efforts, usually also of little effectiveness, to penetrate the administrative apparatus which often bore so heavily on them, or might take refuge in the "flight" option of emigration. The discussion of the latter as an index of national or quasi-national (as in the case of the Jews) discontent is one of the most interesting features of this book and draws attention to an aspect of the subject about which we still know less than we ought. The question of widely varying "return rates" as between emigrants of different nationalities, for example, and their significance, is one of great interest though the author can do little more than touch on it here.

Readers will find things to disagree with. Though he admits that the settlement after 1918 halved the size of the nationalities problem in eastern Europe, Dr Pearsoun is strongly critical of it for leaving far too many people there still under alien rule and for creating essentially artificial multi-national entities such as Czechoslovakia (a particular *bête noire*) and Yugoslavia. There is something in this, but only something. What, after all, could have been done with Transylvania, or the Banat or the Dobruja, without leaving large numbers of people under a regime which they disliked and wished to reject? The only perma-

nent solution, as the author admits, was that frequently adopted during and after the Second World War of forcibly moving very large numbers of people to fit a set of predetermined boundaries, so that in the end national minorities came to make up a tenth or less of the population of eastern Europe. This was a brutal solution; but the events of the last hundred years had left it, in some cases at least, as the only one now available.

The book is equipped with several statistical tables, a small number of footnotes (scattered, inevitably, at the end) and a useful bibliography of works in English. Teachers as well as students will find what it has to say worth their attention.

M. S. Anderson

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Colonial struggle

The Fall of the First British Empire: origins of the War of American Independence

by Robert W. Tucker and David C. Hendrickson
Johns Hopkins University Press, £19.00
ISBN 0 8018 2780 9

Did the events in North America from 1763 to 1783 constitute a "revolution", within the pattern of an "age of democratic revolution"? Or were they a civil war, ending ultimately in secession? Or did they amount simply to a colonial struggle for independence?

Professor Tucker and Dr Hendrickson have little doubt that the third of these descriptions is the more appropriate. The origins of this struggle lay far back in the seventeenth century; but what in their view proved the decisive turn in events precipitating the crisis was the Anglo-French conflict for supremacy in North America commonly described as the Seven Years War. The triumphant peace of 1763 confirmed the feelings of colonial leaders that they were members of a loosely-organized imperial community moving steadily along a path of increasing emancipation from restraint and accepting surviving controls only so far as these seemed not incompatible with colonial interests. Any resented constraint could be, and was, represented as a violation of their traditional, inherited constitutional rights.

This vision implied an ultimate escape from subordination, an escape already largely achieved by 1763. To British politicians, on the other hand, the continuance of colonial subordination was axiomatic. Without it the empire would cease to exist, an event entailing the direst consequences for national security. In a series of chapters on the perceptions and the realities of the status quo on the morrow of the Seven Years War, the authors develop with subtle and persuasive argument the view that "the expansion and collapse of the First British Empire was the consequence of a series of profound upheavals and challenges on the periphery and not the emergence of a new attitude towards empire in the metropolis."

In fact a dynamic force making for change was operating along the American Atlantic seaboard, and from 1764 onwards the British were desperately trying to shore up a structure which was crumbling before their gaze. In part three of this book, under the general heading, "Diplomacy of Appeasement", Tucker and Hendrickson absorb the British and American attitudes towards the colonies for ten years up to 1774 that were constantly yielding and seeking a compromise solution which the colonial leaders repeatedly refused to accept. The continuance of this process past the eleventh hour—after the British had thrown down the gauntlet with the Coercive Acts—is made clear in an important gloss by the colonial secretary on Lord North's conciliatory propositions of

early 1775. Lord Dartmouth explained the government intention of leaving colonial defence contributions protected from arbitrary increase by being pegged in proportion to sums voted for defence in Britain—in effect an offer of a contractual bargain, provided the colonists accepted the one essential precondition of British parliamentary supremacy. This document, not used by the authors, reinforces their interpretation of the British role.

The book is built and original in its challenge to the usual morally-charged assumption underlying much writing about the American Revolution, that it was a defence of liberty against an aggressive and engrossing imperial authority. The authors are realists. If there are moral overtones, the balance is sometimes tipped the other way. "Rather than independence", they write, "those colonists who led the growing resistance to imperial authority wanted to enjoy the benefits of independence while avoiding as many of its burdens as possible. This was the essential meaning of the equality, or equivalence, sought by the colonists, a condition in many respects more advantageous for fractious provinces than was independence". Constitutional arguments were a veil for these aspirations—though, nevertheless, in the eighteenth-century world-view, these arguments had a compelling dynamism of their own. The authors appropriately criticize the considerable amount of claptrap uttered by colonial propagandists and also by their apologists in the British parliamentary opposition. Perhaps occasionally they go too far in this exercise. I would, for instance, defend my own view, here brought under attack, that the positive elements in Burke's great speeches at the height of the crisis were "a triumph of creative political imagination" and that, as he said, sentiment was a force not to be ignored: that assumption of Burke's appears vindicated by the experience of the British Empire and Commonwealth in 1899, in 1914, and in 1939.

Although some of the authors' conclusions will face stiff challenge, this is an intellectually enjoyable work, lively and provoking in its critical judgments, and an admirable example of the stiffening which can be given to historical discussion by the skills of the political scientist. It makes a valuable addition to the literature, and the debate, on the American Revolution.

Ian R. Christie

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From the throne

Stuart Royal Proclamations, volume two: Royal Proclamations of King Charles I, 1625-1646

edited by James F. Larkin
Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press, £70.00
ISBN 0 19 822466 4

In the history of Stuart government—of day-by-day administration and executive action in all spheres—royal proclamations have a place of the first importance. By collecting together 519 proclamations (105 printed for the first time) issued in England during the reign of Charles I from 1625 to 1646, Professor Larkin has offered us here one of the richest sources for the history of Caroline England. But he has done more, for to this exemplar he brings a wealth of scholarly information and contextual cross-reference and an unerring incisive commentary. Given the value of the annotation it is only regrettable that Professor Larkin did not write a fuller introduction.

Professor Larkin modestly understates the importance of his work in his judgment that the proclamations "complete and in some cases run counter to the evidence on which historians have been made." Certainly this edition makes clear that Charles I ever a stickler for legalities, showed no

desire to alter the constitution, nor to elevate proclamation as a rival alternative to statute. It seems that he never ceased to regard his parliament as "that great Council which is the representative body of his whole kingdom to consult, debate and conclude of those weighty and important matters..." And he always sustained belief in the loyalty of most members, overridden at times by the factions tactics of the disaffected few. During the period of no parliaments from 1629 to 1640, what emerges, "surprisingly" to Professor Larkin, "is the comparatively small number of proclamations issued—an average of one a month, half the number for 1625-29 or 1640-42."

Moreover, the proclamations of the 1630s are conservative in tone and purpose, articulating his view that kingship was primarily a duty and a charge, and reflecting his belief that it was not change or legislation which was required, but the efficient administration of existing laws and practices. Proclamations were the instruments of reform, regulation and order. Indeed in many we can detect an obsession with uniformity in the greatest matters (religious services) and the smallest (the size of bricks).

Professor Larkin corrects the views of those historians who have seen in the proclamations of the 1630s only the quest for fiscal gain. Many suggest a willingness to act on advice and a preparedness at times to react to changed circumstances. Many tackle problems neglected by parliamentary legislation. The King and Council acted to ensure supplies of corn, to reduce the constant risks of contagion, to secure national industries from foreign competition, to protect consumers from malpractices and unjust prices, and to ensure the defence of the country. But if we applaud these efforts for the order, safety and wealth of the realm, we can appreciate too the annoyance which they must have caused—the irritating hectoring which was what they meant to the gentry governors, minor officials and the subjects of Caroline England.

For behind the proclamations (and essential for their execution) were quite novel (and at times costly) bureaucratic demands: for the deputy lieutenants the task of registering and stamping the county arms; for the JPs, in addition to Lambard's "stacks of statutes", additional responsibilities for overseeing proclamations connected with corn, charity, plague, buildings, starch, iron, pawbrokers and so on. In the name of efficiency powers of search were also granted to justices, the agents of chartered companies and special commissions, adding further to the local sense of an army of bureaucrats invading the locality. If anything became intolerable to the gentry of the 1630s, it was the sheer burden of work demanded of them. Charles I's paternalism was voiced in the lofty language of the public weal to men who thought more often of their private interest.

Perhaps the purposes behind the proclamations were never sufficiently explained. Clearly Charles expected his intentions and the prior claim of the common good to be self-evident. In 1639, however, we may detect a change in the tone. In the face of Scottish propaganda, Charles began to use proclamations to explain a situation, even to put a case. This became clearer after 1641 as the country was divided by a war of propaganda, the prelude to military conflict. From the spring of 1642 the proclamations of Charles I were devices geared to gaining the political and military initiative, to exposing the illegalities of parliament, to dividing the reluctant neutrals from the activists and to raising and sustaining a royalist army. In other words, the proclamations from 1641 to 1646 are very much pieces of the moment. During the halcyon days of the 1630s, it had been possible to consider longer term objectives.

Through consistencies and differences, through years of parliaments and foreign wars, peace and personal rule, civil war and chaos, the proclamations are a barometer of Charles's long term aims and attitudes to immediate problems. Professor Larkin's rich edition has underlined the need for a history of government and politics in the England of Charles I. It has also greatly facilitated the task of its historian.

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Collective protests

An Atlas of Rural Protest in Britain, 1548-1900

edited by Andrew Charlesworth
Croom Helm, £16.95
ISBN 0 7099 0703 6

Since George Rudé produced his seminal work *The Crowd in History* in 1964, riot and other forms of collective protest have been fertile areas of research, and the present study is an attempt to gather together some part of this inheritance.

Charlesworth first divides his theme into kind protests, food riots, protests by agricultural labour, and certain smaller categories. For each of these there are national and sometimes regional maps indicating the locales of disturbance at various particular dates or periods. These are supported by an accompanying text and references, and there are more general introductory statements which review each topical area.

The riots examined are seen as part of a legitimate defence of established conditions in the face of the onset and intensification of agrarian capitalism. This means, as far as England is concerned, a development spanning several centuries, beginning in the mid-sixteenth century. Here the inclusion of Wales and Scotland in the analysis offers scope for useful comparison. The text provides concise and informative accounts of particular groups of disturbances, some of which are described by several specialist contributors.

The maps themselves, which are also well produced, much resemble archaeological maps, and seem to have similar advantages and disadvantages. The significance of detail is not always easy to interpret, perhaps partly because knowledge of local economies and societies at this time is still very incomplete. On the other hand such maps also offer a provocative stimulus to thought, so that most students of the rural affairs of this period will wish to check their contents.

The other, and smaller, part of the work consists of a general interpretation of the collective protests under review. Charlesworth makes the rather large claim that the conflicts of 1548-52 were a response to seigneurial reaction and not to nascent agrarian capitalism. The subsequent onset of such capitalism, though often opposed, was not marked by large-scale rioting except where it was introduced rapidly in conjunction with enclosure. This occurred particularly in parts of the midlands in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, in Gallo-way in the early eighteenth, and over a much longer period in the fens and other wasteland regions.

The work tends to confirm the view that food riots were the principal form of pre-industrial protest. These are associated with agrarian capitalism in that they were often directed against the export of local grain in periods of short supply. They were, however, the product—at least in Britain—of the industrial worker of town and countryside rather than agricultural populations as such. Finally, the more pronounced separation of farmer and labourer developing after 1750 results in the inebriating protests of the early nineteenth century, and eventually the more specifically modern development of agricultural trade unionism.

These results may not seem strikingly novel, especially when compared with those of Rudé's book. He was able to cast his work in the form of an attack on stereotypes, particularly that which saw all riots as the work of fickle mobs consisting only of the lowest order of society and moved only by base motives. This, however, can only be done once, and the just reward of the pioneer is that later researchers have to undertake painstaking work to effect much lesser changes in perception. In such a context, the present work can also be seen to possess substantial merit.

J. A. Yelling

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BOOKS

False bottoms

Nabokov's Novels in English
by Lucy Madox
Croom Helm, £14.95
ISBN 0 7099 1751 1

In Vladimir Nabokov's last novel, *Invitation to a Beheading*, the narrator tells us how his "extraordinary grand-nunc" used to combat his list of depression with this advice:

"Stop moping, she would cry: 'Look at the Harlequins!' . . . [These are] 'everywhere. All around you. Trees are harlequins, words are harlequins. So are situations and snits. Put two things together - jokes, images - and you get a triple harlequin. Come on! Play! Invent the world! Invent reality!'"

Here Nabokov invites his reader to join him in this play with the recognition that the reality he is inventing "is a very subjective affair. . . . You can get nearer and nearer, so to speak, to reality; but you never get near enough because reality is an infinite succession of steps, levels of perception, false bottoms, and hence unquenchable, unattainable. . . . Nabokov does not limit his claim to the inventions of literature."

I tend more and more to regard the objective existence of all events as a form of impure imagination - hence my inverted comment around "reality". Whatever the mind grasps, it does so with the assistance of creative fancy.

The problem with Nabokov is how to get hold of a writer, establish what is "really" going on in his invented world, where he is continually diverting you with his triple harlequins.

Lucy Madox's book, a critique of all Nabokov's novels written in English from *The Real Life of Sebastian Knight* to *Invitation to a Beheading*, only partly helps. Drawing from a Nabokov narrator who comes to believe he has lived "only in the margin of a book I have never been able to read" and another who sees "Man's life as commentary to abstruse/Unfinished poem", Madox argues that Nabokov's novels play on a conflict between "text" - that is personal experience, and "commentary" - that is the attempt to interpret, clarify, and imaginatively enrich that experience. Humbert Humbert's "confession" is, then, his commentary on the text of his seduction of (or by) Lolita.

Nabokov's characters are indeed "passionate annotators usually of their own private reality" and Madox shows how Charles Kinbote in *Pale Fire* annotates and elaborates himself into John Shade's poem as Charles the Beloved by transmuting the raw materials of the life he observes into his fantasy. Madox is helpful too on literary allusion in Nabokov, sorting out the Poe reference in *Invitation* and even plausibly identifying "Keats's letters to Benjamin Bailey" which Humbert wrote a commentary on. Surely Madox is right also in protesting at readings that collapse Nabokov's protagonists and antagonists into doublets that Quilty is "really" Humbert, Kinbote and Shade two aspects of a single self, and so on. Such readings eliminate the tension between Nabokov's levels of perception and thus miss that third harlequin who was generated by the opposition between the first two.

But sometimes the harlequin eludes Madox. Her reading of *Pale Fire* oddly overlooks the pathos that comes from the reader's realization that in Kinbote's misprision of Shade's text, he has recapitulated Hazel Shade's cruel fate - she is edged out from the one place she was ever in the centre - Shade's poem. Here and elsewhere Madox missed the false bottoms in Nabokov's box-tricks. Her error is to suppose that the creative imagination is what Nabokov's characters "front ever confronting reality with the inverted commas removed". But the characters furthest from reality in Nabokov are those like the totally unimaginative totalitarian dictator, Paduk, of *Invitation to a Beheading*. There is no reality in Nabokov separate from imaginative invention. Madox is misled by a common-sense viewpoint at odds with Nabokov's uncompromising

idealism into condemning *The Real Life of Sebastian Knight* on the grounds that the narrator's "commentary" is baffling because we cannot know when it is a response to the "main subject" and when it has veered away from that subject and is simply being propelled by its own momentum. But the pleasures of Nabokov's fictions are always veridical.

Despite her disapproval, Madox helps us read *The Real Life of Sebastian Knight* by tracking the process by which V, the desperate biographer, fills the gaps in Sebastian's "life" with characters lifted from his fiction. Madox is most useful when she reminds herself that "in the special world of Nabokov's fiction truth is compounded of the actual and the imaginary, and that the desire to distinguish the two is an impulse that is best left beside the door". One is pleased with her observation that by the end of *Invitation* we are "convinced of the reliability of Paduk, who is largely a creature of the narrator's imagination, and of the unreliability of the narrator who creates him".

Anthony C. Hilfer

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Sensuous vitality

Ernest Hemingway: new critical essays
edited by A. Robert Lee
Vision, £13.95
ISBN 0 85478 474 8

Boris Pasternak once said that "through Hemingway's style, you feel matter, iron, wood." More than any other novelist of his time, Hemingway tried to convey the deterministic nature of the world and man's response to it, through carefully wrought patterns of images. David Seed's essay on *In Our Time* in this collection neatly relates Hemingway's early conclusion of style with his moral vision, concluding rightly that "Hemingway insists that we recognize the primary data of experience before organizing it emotionally."

Surely one reason for the divided critical opinion on Hemingway's works has been due to the restricted nature of the world about which he chose to write - and sadly to parody in his own later lifestyle as well as his work. Colin Nicholson argues convincingly that in Hemingway's short fiction at least such a narrow view is inevitable. As compensation we have "sensuous vitality" as "the mark of Hemingway's own writing as he charts a landscape of failed human possibility."

For most readers and critics, the longer works have presented more problems. And it does seem that it is Hemingway's short works which will survive (the reverse being true of his rival Fitzgerald). Professor Andrew Hook argues that only in *The Sun Also Rises* does Hemingway "challenge the very codes and values which his fiction as a whole will constantly celebrate" and feels that this is why the novel remains vivid to readers. One could argue too that in this most linear of Hemingway's novels, its limitations are not yet as evident as they would become.

Unfortunately what should have been a key essay in such a collection - an examination of *A Farewell to Arms* - is represented by a contribution so eccentric as to be almost unreadable and wholly worthless. Without a serious examination of this work much of the potential value to students of this collection is lost.

A. Robert Lee's essay on *For Whom the Bell Tolls* attempts to argue an overall design for the novel, but in his honest attempt not to gloss over his many flaws he rather defeats his own purpose. Two essays on aspects of the later fiction are by James A. Justice and Eric Mottram. Professor Justice looks at "the aesthetics of failure" while Professor Mottram discusses the theme of suicide and nostalgia in a writer "who knows that the creativity of the art and the practice of the skills are primary."

The late Brian Way's essay on "Hemingway the Intellectual" is one of the best in the book. It is a true reappraisal and one more than half convinced that with Hemingway "that



Arda Mandikian and Jennifer Vyvyan in the original 1954 production of Benjamin Britten's *The Turn of the Screw*. This photograph is reproduced in Eric Walter White's *Benjamin Britten: his life and operas*, now published in a second edition (revised and edited by John Evans) by Faber at £15.00 and £7.95.

quality of fine and unobtrusive intelligence which appears in the novels and stories of the 1920s" is "the true mark of his genius." The failures of the later Hemingway have too often blinded us to the successes of the earlier work. Brian Way is quite right to remind us that without a first-rate intelligence Hemingway could not have given us some of the most memorable pages in this century's literature.

While much of this collection is interesting and sometimes provoking, the overall quality of the pieces and obvious signs of haste in the preparation (did the contributors even read each other's pieces?) suggest that admirers of Hemingway will need to wait a while longer before we have a fresh (and coherent) view of this most puzzling of contemporary writers.

Lyman Andrews

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Jamesian devices

Henry James: an American as Modernist
by Stuart Hutchinson
Vision Press, £8.95
ISBN 0 85478 205 2
The Insecure World of Henry James's Fiction
by Ralf Norman
Macmillan, £17.50
ISBN 0 333 32196 0

Here are two books, both with solid merits, neither of which is what it claims to be.

Stuart Hutchinson's sub-title propounds a broad thesis which will not stand close examination. For him American literature, being the literature of an unformed nation, is "modernist" by definition. European literature (an abstraction) flung out, in the main, by a few glancing references to Jane Austen, George Eliot, and Dickens) is by the same token "traditionalist". One grows to dread the short, sharp and unmerited ambushes of comparative criticism and sociological innuendo that Hutchinson has in store for these novelists.

Previous critics have described the nineteenth-century American alternative to realism not as one of "modernism" but of fantasy or romance. Hutchinson never musters the conceptual apparatus that would be necessary to contest this argument. On the seven James novels which are the main object of his study, however, he offers close and engaging readings. He deserves careful attention when arguing (say) with John Goode over *The Wings of the*

Dove, with Tony Tanner over *What Maisie Knew* or with F. R. Leavis throughout. He shows how James, who started by accepting the realist analogy between the novelist and the historian, increasingly came to write novels which were "fabrications" sustained by nothing outside themselves except the will of their creator. Far from being modernist in his critical procedure, Hutchinson describes the reader's "participation" in each of the novels as being in terms of character and setting.

Ralf Norman's book ought to be called *The Insecure World of 'The Golden Bowl'*. Some sweeping generalizations at beginning and end do not alter the fact that this is a technical study of linguistic strategies - "referential ambiguity", "end-linking", "emphatic affirmation", "formula-finding" and "chastice inversion" - in which the examples are virtually all taken from a single novel. As such, however, it is well worth having. *The Golden Bowl* exhibits the extremes of "Jamesese", and Norman's explorations of this strange idiolect make helpful and (as one should expect from the co-author of a *Semiotic Study of Gabriel's In Literature*) entertaining reading.

In an unhelped foreword Norman indicates that he now believes that one of his chosen devices - chiasmus or verbal inversion - should take priority over the others. He declares that the style is the man, that the late James is the most characteristic and that "if you understand chiasmus, you understand James". These hyperbolic claims are a doomed and pointless attempt to superannate shelves of previous criticism.

In fact, when he turns from technical stylistics to questions of literary value Norman tends to sound rather blank. He readily admits that most of his predecessors - detractors as well as admirers of James - have valid points to make. I feel he ought have gone further. He argues persuasively that many semantic ambiguities in James cannot, or at least should not, be resolved. His own framework is modestly psychological rather than sociological or historical - hence his concept of "insecurity" - but he is alive to the wide issues raised by the dislocations of language in late James. He shows how to relate the peculiarities of "Jamesese" to such twentieth-century phenomena as philosophical pragmatism, psychic narcissism, and the threat of semantic chaos and its totalitarian exploitation that George Orwell identified in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.

Such an approach tacitly says just as much (if not more) about "modernism" than Hutchinson's book which explicitly foregrounds the concept.

Patrick Parrinder

Patrick Parrinder is reader in English at the University of Reading.

Unkind cuts

The Red Badge of Courage: an episode of the American Civil War
by Stephen Crane
newly edited from Crane's original manuscript by Henry Binder
Norton, £10.95
ISBN 0 393 01345 6

Comparison of the manuscript of *The Red Badge of Courage* with the first edition, published by Appleton in 1895, shows that considerable portions of the manuscript were deleted for the printed text; publication of the deleted passages has led to much argument about their merit. Some of the deletions are marked in the manuscript but many are not, and the typeset and proofs of the Appleton edition have been lost. In the signed edition of 1960, R. W. Stallman printed the marked deletions in notes at the back and restored the unmarked ones, set off in brackets, to the text. Fredson Bowers, however, after discussing the editorial problems in great detail in the edition of 1975, concluded that the deletions represented Crane's final intentions.

Henry Binder bases his new edition on the manuscript, arguing that the cuts damaged rather than improved the book and that they were probably made in response to the wishes of Appleton's editor, Ripley Hitchcock. There is no evidence for this view in Crane's surviving correspondence, but Mr Binder adduces evidence of other kinds, biographical, historical, and aesthetic, summarizing what is known about Ripley Hitchcock's editorial practices in general, and Crane's relations with him and suggesting that in 1895 Crane was in no position to resist such pressure.

Study of the nature of the cuts, he claims, shows that they are for the most part either realistic details which might have been considered shocking, or more importantly, passages in which Crane's ironically conceived protagonists rails against God, patriotism, and all bunomy. The result of the excisions was to simplify the text, to bring it nearer to the conventional war story.

Mr Binder also argues that the central critical disagreement about the book which has developed in recent years - whether Henry Fleming comes to a moral victory or an undeserved reward in the final chapter - is due to the deletions. In the original version Crane had written a sensitive exploration of the mystery of both physical and moral heroism, but the excisions, which appear to be an attempt to simplify the complex vision contained in the manuscript text, produced a conclusion which was bound to cause uncertainty and disagreement.

Unfortunately, several pages of the manuscript have been lost. Mr Binder has filled the lacunae where possible by using Crane's early draft and the pre-publication excerpt in *Current Literature* as copy-text, but three gaps still remain. However, enough of chapter 12, the one chapter completely excised in the Appleton edition, is extant to make its character quite clear.

The deleted chapter is not a very good example of Crane's writing, but it was necessary to the original conception of the hero's character; and once it had been removed, other cuts had to be made. We shall presumably never know with any certainty the extent of the editor's influence here, but Mr Binder's argument is plausible. What is unquestionable is that the deletions were made clumsily and that some passages in the Appleton text are obscure without reference to the manuscript. Mr Binder's analysis of the final chapter of the novel, comparing its original to its published form, is a particularly effective proof of his claim that nobody knows "if so the reader can judge for himself Crane's original conception of the book."

J. W. Harper

J. W. Harper is senior lecturer in English at the University of York.

The Red Badge of Courage has just been published with an introduction by Malcolm Bradbury in an Everyman paperback (Dent, £1.95).

BOOKS

Devices for syntactic analysis

Language as a Cognitive Process
Volume one: Syntax
by Terry Winograd
Addison-Wesley, £14.50
ISBN 0 201 08571 2

Linguistics, in the modern theoretical sense of work deriving from, or reacting to, the work of Noam Chomsky, his predecessors and followers, has not been easy to explain to a general public. Those who write elementary descriptions of the subject designed to attract school-leavers to study it know this only too well.

One insight can be simply expressed (it is due to Steedman and Aedes): suppose you accept some standard order for the parts of English sentences (and the point will not depend on which order is chosen): subject, auxiliary verb, main verb, object of verb, prepositional phrase. If we accept that, then

John will marry Mary in the morning
is in "standard order", but
In the morning, will John marry Mary?

is not. Yet it can be made so by an imaginary process of starting at the left-hand end of the sentence and going through it, picking up any sentence part out of standard order and dropping it down in the right place when we come to it. Now, suppose that this picking up and putting down leaves a line on the paper, linking one site with the other. If we do that for the second sentence above, "In the morning" will be put down after "John", but the two small tracks of the movements will not cross each other at any point. But, had we started with a non-sentence like

we would have found that the lines of movement of "will" and "morning" did cross. What could possibly follow from this pencil-and-paper exercise?

In fact, it is a classic example of the sort of insight offered by computational linguistics, the subject of this book. In order to see the critical claim the computational linguist makes, which is what distinguishes his subject from linguistics in the Chomskyan tradition, we need one further move. Sentences, that is those strings that do not lead to crossed lines when re-ordered, can be processed with a "push-down store". That can most easily be thought of as the spring-bottomed plate stack one finds in self-service restaurants: the next plate to be taken is always the top one, and the last plate put on to the stack is always the first to be taken off again.

In the sentence example, if you think of the words or phrases to be re-ordered as being written on a plate, and pushed down on to the top of such a stack, it should be clear that, when it comes time to take one off again to "put it in its right place in the sentence", then the condition that lines do not cross is precisely the one that allows the push-down store to separate out the "good" sentences from the "bad or pseudo" ones. Crossing lines means that the plates would have to change order on the stack, and they cannot; hence a "crossing line" sentence cannot be rearranged by such a mechanism.

The plate stack is just an analogy, and a real push-down store is part of a computer program. In this case a program to sort out properly structured from ill-structured sentences (the syntax, that is that of a "procedural device" that can do such syntactic separation is essential to understanding computational linguistics; and it is precisely such devices that separate close relative artificial intelligence (AI) from Chomskyan theoretical linguistics, which has always been in opposition to computer modelling, at least as an insightful

device in its own right, and to the computational modelling of human performance in particular. For theoretical linguists in that tradition, human language performance was not a matter of any particular interest. The irony here, of course, has been that the computationalists have done more than theoreticians to keep human interest within linguistics.

One might exaggerate this a little and say that the role assigned to computation by theoretical linguists was that of the white-coated assistant: one who might perhaps be allowed to assist with the testing of a theory, but of no interest in his own right and quite dispensable. On the contrary, the use of, say, line crossing and push-down stores in order to separate ill-formed from well-formed sentences, a task long dear to the heart of theoretical linguists, is one that cannot be stated properly outside a computational paradigm.

The implausibility of the "lab assistant" view is due to Terry Winograd as much as to anyone; his new work is perhaps the fullest survey available of work in syntax and computation (a further volume on computation, semantics and pragmatics is planned). His own early work in 1971 was not at all syntactic in nature; it did make use of a syntax analyser, based on Halliday's "systemic grammar", but its originality lay in the way it interpreted English sentences in the light of stored knowledge about the world, and its own plans of action.

The present book does not, there-

fore, imply that he accords the primacy to syntax that theoretical linguists normally do: the origin of the book is purely pedagogical; it has developed during the ten years from Winograd's course on computational linguistics at Stanford. The book has been expected for nearly five years now, but Winograd's fastidiousness held it back again and again. He has added an annex to the developments in linguistic theory during the past five years, and their relationship to computational questions, so as to bring the book up to date from the period when its main structure was laid down. Such fastidiousness is a rare distinction in a field where it is common to publish papers describing programs before they have even been run.

This book is almost certainly the most complete volume on computational syntax ever written; it will be essential for any course on the subject. An important feature is the amount of space devoted to describing linguistic theory: it could serve equally well as an introduction to that field as to computational linguistics proper. The long skein of issues and counter-issues within Chomskyan linguistics is carefully unravelled. Other old debts are paid: a sample grammar of English is given in an appendix in the Hallidayan, rather than the Chomskyan, mode. All this is part of the book's utter neutrality on theoretical issues, even those where Winograd is known, from his other writings, to have strong views.

The reader will find very full accounts of parsing English with aug-

mented transition networks, chart parsers, and the early attempts to use Chomsky's transformational grammar for this purpose. There is little on Marcus's parser, but that has come to the fore very much during the past three years, and not every twist and turn of fashion can be followed by a book that must eventually be turned over to the printers. Winograd intended the book to be accessible to readers with no knowledge of either linguistics or programming, and to that end he has adopted a novel device: programs and algorithms are not given in any particular programming language, but in a special limited English he has made up, together with a system of interlocking box diagrams (not flowcharts) to explain complex algorithms in an accessible non-technical way. Experience alone will show whether or not that has been successful.

The title could mislead slightly: there is no psychology in the book. Its origin is the AI view that coded knowledge (in this case knowledge of language itself, not of the outside world) and the processes that operate on it, are the source of mental life, and best explicated by computer programs based on such principles. That is not psychology at all, but a sort of experimental philosophy.

Yorick Wilks

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Speech technology

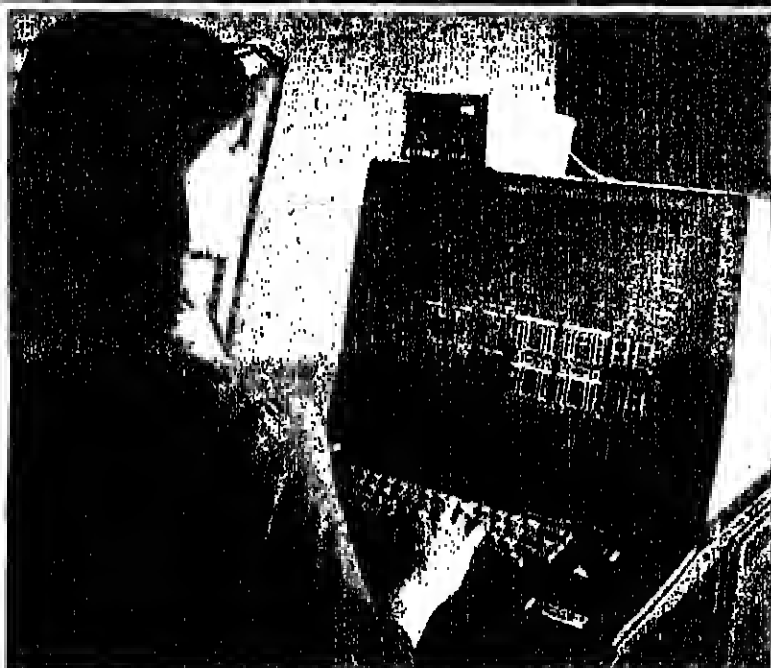
Principles of Computer Speech
by Ian H. Witten
Academic Press, £19.00
ISBN 0 12 760760 9

As every Maestro owner knows, cars can now talk. And not just cars; soon humourless disembodied voices will be arresting our attention from the washing machine, the oven, maybe even the toaster, bringing instant retribution for our domestic peccadilloes. The implications for psychiatry are enormous but Ian Witten, sensibly, confines himself to the technical achievements that make it all possible, and the linguistic complexities that circumscribe the applications.

The chip, of course, is responsible. It stores compactly huge amounts of data, and computes with sufficient speed to reconstitute speech waves in real time. But what data is stored, and how is it turned into speech?

The simplest solution is to use a chip as a digital tape-recorder, sampling the waveform at around 8,000 times per second and remembering it in a series of registers. Regenerating the speech then involves playing out the values at the same speed as they came in, and this gives excellent quality speech. There are two problems. First, the process uses vast amounts of storage; second, you can only get out what you put in. If you want to change the order of the words, or to put different words into a carrier phrase ("You're oil-pressure/resistance/petrol/tyres is/are low"), you rapidly realize that speech, unlike print, does not consist of word-sized chunks that can be conveniently shuffled. Speech flows continuously. Pitch, duration and the very quality of the sound itself all change dramatically with context.

Other commercial applications of speech output are based on solutions to the first problem, that of storage space. One of the most significant developments in speech technology during the past decade has been the application of Norbert Wiener's work on stationary time series to speech analysis. Linear prediction analysis assumes that speech has been produced by exciting a single tube (the vocal tract) with either buzz (voiceless speech) or noise (voiced speech). The assumption is a good one for many speech sounds, and a perceptually adequate for others. The resonant frequencies (formants) and linear predictive analysis efficiently estimates them. The estimation is made by assuming that the shape of the tube



A computer terminal with an interactive graphics "menu" on the right-hand side of the screen. Taken from *Elementary Computer Graphics* by Aftab A. Muftic published by Prentice-Hall at £17.95.

stays constant over a short period of time (say 10 milliseconds) and it yields a small set of around a dozen numbers that describe the resonant frequencies of the tube.

A fair approximation to the original speech can then be reconstructed from these numbers and an input signal consisting of either buzz (at a suitable pitch) or noise. Savings in storage are very great and, with careful analysis, the quality of speech can be excellent.

Linear predictive analysis, however, not only reduces storage space, but also approximates the pitch of the voice (the frequency of the buzz that is exciting the tube) from the rest of the sound quality (the shape of the tube). By simply changing one parameter the speech can be re-synthesized with a different intonation from the original. Since duration can also be changed very simply, it becomes feasible to construct sentences out of smaller units (such as diphones), greatly increasing the possible number of sentences.

Witten spends about half of his book discussing the essentials of speech production and speech analysis. Speech production is described simply, although there are some errors. For instance, whispering emphasizes the second, not the first formant of vowels. The sections on speech analysis, however, will be fully comprehensible only to those well acquainted with digital signal processing. Advanced electrical engineering students would find them useful, although the serious student may

find the casual style irritating. The remainder of the book is more successful, giving a personal view of a variety of problems that arise in producing satisfactory connected speech from an input such as text. Applications here are more numerous; the Massachusetts Institute of Technology has produced speech output programs for a reading machine for the blind, which gives useful speech from text but which is still too bulky to be packaged commercially on a few chips.

Witten's discussion of the range of problems that have emerged and found pragmatic answers will be stimulating to psychologists unaccustomed to solutions, and to engineers unaware of the problems.

C. J. Darwin

C. J. Darwin is reader in experimental psychology at the University of Sussex.

Volume 16 of Kogan Page's series on Aspects of Educational Technology is devoted to *Improving Efficiency in Education and Training*. Edited by Andrew Trott, Harry Strongman and Less Giddins, and available at £15.95, the book contains 27 papers under seven headings: effectiveness and efficiency in education; development of packages and programmes; applications of interactive video systems; computers in learning; methodologies; applications of microteaching and microteaching technologies; and schools/industry links.

Degrees of realism

Fundamentals of Interactive Computer Graphics
by J. D. Foley and Andries Van Dam
Addison-Wesley, £15.95
ISBN 0 201 14468 9

Computer graphics are becoming more common. From space invader machines to the home computer, from the animated mimic diagrams so vital to the control of complex machinery to the computer-controlled drawing tables which are the tools of today's draughtsmen, all rely on the ability of computers to produce "pictures" of varying degrees of realism.

The advent of a book which can clearly illustrate the many facets of this field immediately begs the question of for whom it is principally intended: a potential designer of the hardware; someone who may produce the computer programs which control this hardware; or the person who wants to use both this hardware and software to solve problems in his own discipline? Foley and Van Dam have attempted to structure this book to make it applicable to each of these groups, although it will be of interest mainly to those with some experience of computer programming.

The procedures or algorithms are expounded by means of segments of "programs" written in an informal version of the Pascal programming language. However, some of these, particularly where they are recursive, require a great deal of effort on the part of the reader if he is to fully comprehend their functions. The authors also develop a complete graphics application program in Pascal, using the new core system of standard graphics subroutines proposed by the American Association for Computing Machinery's SIG-GRAPH, which provides a reliable first insight into this system.

The book's main merit lies in its descriptions of the techniques for producing realistic pictures, with representations of three-dimensional shapes fully shaded and coloured. This is where much research effort has been directed in recent years, and Foley and Van Dam have condensed the contents of many important recent papers into several useful chapters. The chapter on the use of colour, however, does not do justice to the rapidly growing use of colour displays, and sadly there is very little reference to the psychology and physiology of those to whom these realistic pictures are directed.

The interactive aspect of computer graphics has always been difficult to present adequately, being considered by some to be merely a protrusion on the countenance of "traditional", output-only graphics. Foley and Van Dam have not been very brave in this respect, and have referred only to descriptions of some interactive devices, such as the lightpen, and a vague homily on the design of man-machine conversations.

A fascinating topic is the way in which the sophistication of arcade games is achieved at very low cost. As these pictures are based on "icons" (representations of small objects or parts of larger objects), which can be positioned independently on the screen, this enables objects to move at speed behind or in front of other objects with an ease matched only by powerful conventional computer graphic systems. These techniques are being utilized in business systems and in the design of low-cost but powerful word-processing and type-setting systems. A discussion on this "transfer of technology" from the entertainment arena to commercial and industrial applications would have been valuable.

This book is a most useful reference to the many aspects of the subject for the skilled practitioner.

J. E. H. Quilliam

J. E. H. Quilliam is head of the special projects group in the computing unit at the University of Surrey.

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The appointment, which is for five years in the first instance, offers the opportunity to build on an existing programme of multi-disciplinary, in-service courses on health, ageing, and conflict in families; to play a leading role in the development of Primary Health Care Unit for which a large grant has been received from the Health Education Council and to promote projects in such areas as mental handicap, residential care, the family, counselling and psychiatric care in the community. The Director will be expected to provide intellectual and professional leadership to a growing team of staff involved in creating and maintaining courses and in undertaking appropriate research. He/she must also be able to create and maintain links with the health and social welfare areas in order to ensure that any materials produced meet the expressed needs of the target audience. Salary will be within the normal UGC approved Professorial range plus UGC benefits. Further particulars may be obtained from the Secretary (4630/83), The Open University, Milton Keynes MK7 6AA. Telephone enquiries may be made to Milton Keynes 653710 (Miss Wakefield). There is a 24 hour answering service on Milton Keynes (0908) 653686. Closing date for applications: 30th June, 1983.

UNIST University of Wales Information Technology Initiative Lecturer

within the School of Engineering
Applications are invited for a temporary Lectureship in French within the Department of Modern Languages for a period of two years from 1st October, 1983. Qualified candidates with interest in any area of French linguistics and/or literary studies can apply. Candidates must be given to specialist in some aspect of French literature or philosophy from the Renaissance to the present day. Salary on the lecturer scale (£8,375-£13,500 per annum) with initial placement according to age, salary and qualifications. U.S.S. superannuation benefits. Applications (two copies) including names and addresses of three referees and a curriculum vitae should be sent to the Staff Officer, UNIST, PO Box 54, Cardiff CF1 3XA. Closing Date: 24th June, 1983.

University of the West Indies - Jamaica

SENIOR LECTURER/ LECTURER

Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons for the post of Senior Lecturer/Lecturer in the Department of Government. The successful candidate will be expected to undertake research in the field of government, and to assist in the teaching and supervision of research students. The post is for a period of two years, with the possibility of extension.

University of the West Indies - Barbados

SENIOR LECTURER/ LECTURER IN ENGLISH

Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons for the post of Senior Lecturer/Lecturer in English. The successful candidate will be expected to undertake research in the field of English literature, and to assist in the teaching and supervision of research students. The post is for a period of two years, with the possibility of extension.

University of the West Indies - Trinidad

SENIOR LECTURER/ LECTURER IN ENGLISH

Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons for the post of Senior Lecturer/Lecturer in English. The successful candidate will be expected to undertake research in the field of English literature, and to assist in the teaching and supervision of research students. The post is for a period of two years, with the possibility of extension.

University of the West Indies - Guyana

SENIOR LECTURER/ LECTURER IN ENGLISH

Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons for the post of Senior Lecturer/Lecturer in English. The successful candidate will be expected to undertake research in the field of English literature, and to assist in the teaching and supervision of research students. The post is for a period of two years, with the possibility of extension.

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The University of Papua New Guinea - Port Moresby

LECTURER/SENIOR LECTURER

Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons for the post of Lecturer/Senior Lecturer in the Department of Social Sciences. The successful candidate will be expected to undertake research in the field of social sciences, and to assist in the teaching and supervision of research students. The post is for a period of two years, with the possibility of extension.

University of Birmingham Department of Extramural Studies

STAFF TUTOR (LECTURER) IN PHYSICAL SCIENCES/ MATHEMATICS/ COMPUTER SCIENCE

The post combines research, teaching and responsibility for extramural courses of university standard in the physical sciences, mathematics and computer science. The successful candidate will be expected to undertake research in the field of physical sciences, mathematics and computer science, and to assist in the teaching and supervision of research students. The post is for a period of two years, with the possibility of extension.

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STAFF TUTOR (LECTURER) IN PSYCHOLOGY

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University of Essex Department of Language and Linguistics

CHAIR IN APPLIED LINGUISTICS

Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons for the post of Chair in Applied Linguistics. The successful candidate will be expected to undertake research in the field of applied linguistics, and to assist in the teaching and supervision of research students. The post is for a period of two years, with the possibility of extension.

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University of Warwick Institute for Employment Research

SENIOR ECONOMIST

The Institute for Employment Research is seeking a Senior Economist to undertake research in the field of employment. The successful candidate will be expected to undertake research in the field of employment, and to assist in the teaching and supervision of research students. The post is for a period of two years, with the possibility of extension.

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**Cambridgeshire
College of Arts and
Technology
SENIOR LECTURER
IN PRODUCTION
ENGINEERING**

on the Kenna (A Scale for Research and Academic Staff) £6,375-£11,035 with initial phasing up to £9,800 1988 benefit.

Applications, together with curriculum vitae and the names and addresses of three referees, quide R1783, should be sent to Mrs M. Aird, Department of Metallurgy, University of Sheffield, Sheffield, G1 1RN by 24 June 1988. If

of two referees, should be sent by 30th June, 1983, to the Secretary, University of Bristol School of Education, 33, Berkeley Square, Bristol, BS8 1JA (Reference CTS1), from whom further particulars

Don's diary

Monday

My big lecture today, the first of the three weekly, with more than 400 students. I am supposed to speak into a microphone hanging round my neck but the cord soon breaks and I have to hold it. The overhead projector turns out not to be available. In extraordinary contrast to English students these Californians have no inhibitions in a lecture of this size about asking questions, including both ends of a spectrum ranging from inane to incisive. In other respects they differ as well. After the lecture a student engages me in conversation about the virtues of the market as a system for allocating resources. In the course of his exposition he explains how he multiplies his student loan by trading in cocaine. Demand in Davis, he complained, was not very buoyant compared with other places.

Tuesday

Opening my *San Francisco Chronicle*, the nearest thing to a national paper available, I find a story about one of those other places. Dubbed Berserkeley by the *Chronicle*, Berkeley is continuing to offend true American sentiment in the 1980s as it had in the 1960s. A vendor of drinks in Telegraph Avenue, using paper cups inscribed "God Bless America" had come under such pressure from his clients that he was forced to display a sign indicating that "the opinions expressed on the cups are not necessarily those of the management". In addition he ordered plain cups as replacements. Berkeley's loss was Davis's gain from the 1960s as the Californian gentry preferred to steer their children away from the riotous depravity of the Bay Area, so that 18,000 students attended Davis by the time I arrived.

Wednesday

We, students and "faculty", all travel by bicycle in specially marked lanes outside the university. There are 22,000 bicycles in a town of 36,000. So it is important not to move about on the hour if this can be avoided, for then every road and track in the university is filled with students, winging this way to the next class or home. Though their speed and silence are birdlike, these sun-lanned, bare-legged, thick-thighed students with knapsacks on their backs otherwise lack ethereal qualities. I fetch a *film* from Alex's and cycle back to a meeting with my nine teaching assistants. I have to agree with them a consistent grading system for my 400 plus students in their three examinations and two pieces of assessed work in this one-term course. Apparently when my assistants produce the students' points, I arrange the scores in a frequency distribution and determine the relationship I want between the points and letter grades.

Thursday

Amid all this excitement it is easy not to do me's homework on the system. Today I discover that students have to maintain an average grade of C or above, or they are thrown out of the university. Given the shortness of the courses and the frequency of examinations, I am surprised that so many students maintain a real interest in most of their subjects.

On the departmental noticeboard I see a request for volunteers to participate in red wine allergy tests. Davis claims it is the world leader in the study of wines. The supermarkets are providing me with ample opportunity for this pursuit so I decide to forgo the free

samples. Because of the emerging preference for white wines (in this no doubt their lower "hangover factor" plays a part) good reds are extraordinarily cheap. I ponder why Californians apparently resist the temptation and often display bumper stickers announcing "It's OK not to drink". I surmise that the competitive instinct observed among my fellow academics is sobering.

Friday

Out to dinner last night. I was told the stickers really annoy that alcoholism is a major problem in the privacy of the detached bungalows of Davis. Collecting my post from the pigeonhole, I meet a lady colleague. There is no departmental common room. She tells me the women faculty (both of them) feel discriminated against because she thinks the men latch their plots in the "Men's Rest Room". Such paranoia it seems is common among those without tenure. Taking my graduate class I gain an insight into much of American academic output. The technical virtuosity and the tunnel vision stems from this formal teaching at an advanced level. Adept at formal modelling, the students have little idea as to what constitutes a real problem. Some of the students are also my teaching assistants, very serious-minded but pleasant. Comparable in size to an English undergraduate seminar, this group is fun to teach.

Saturday

Into my pride and joy, the 1974 Buick, for a drive over the mountains to the wine country in the Napa Valley. Davis crawls with Datsuns and Hondas making my five litre all-American car look antediluvian. By the waters of Lake Berryessa I almost sit down and weep: steam pours from under the bonnet - a burst radiator hose. Four big motorcycles ridden by leather-jacketed large-gutted persons of mature years draw up to admire the view. One, unsolicited, takes out some tape from his bike and repairs my hose so I can get back home. Had the bikes been Harley-Davidsons instead of Hondas I might have had reason to worry.

Sunday

Having been invited water-skiing I can easily resist the blandishments on the radio to attend the nearby drive-in church service. By contrast with the roads, there is no speed limit on the rivers. Here real men can drive their boats at 70 miles an hour and they do. So a red flag is essential if you water-ski in the Sacramento river. I hit the water at a mere 30 miles an hour after more less standing, water is forced into every orifice, the skis tear into my thighs. When the boat stops I have time to wonder if my hosts do this themselves for pleasure, or only offer it as hospitality. Still with the temperature over 90° there are advantages in being an academic wet.

James Foreman-Peck

The author is lecturer in economics at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne

Cream walls do not a vision make



Tessa Blackstone

angry with their work and angry with their children, both sides losing in the competition.

Having a study does not help much. Keep out instructions are ignored by small children when they want mummy. Even when they are temporarily observed, the daily round of Annie hitting Johnny or vice versa and substitute mother failing to sort it out means frequent interruptions. One friend of mine recently admitted that having totally failed to keep their small children out of her study and herself in it, she went to work in her next door neighbour's spare room - carefully driving her car round the corner to indicate that mummy had gone out!

Having acquired the library habit I no find it hard to break. It's the place associated with writing my PhD and other minor manifestations of intellectual or professional progress. It is the place where writing can be done without interruption. So I can blame my visual blindness on my children and explain the richness of Roy Hattersley's visual observation by the fact that he has no children, which may incidentally be one of the reasons why he can fit so much else into his life.

But once something missing has been identified it is at least a first step to trying to rectify it. Recently I have been trying to observe my physical environment a little more closely than I have done in the past. The main problem this presents for those of us with President Ford hang-ups is that it is sometimes hard to observe small things both people and places at the same time.

Craning the neck to look at buildings

Examinations put to the test

"The goal is from the travelling", said Goethe, but even if the great man had been present in person the students in the pub would not have been convinced. The exam results were out and this was journey's end.

"What does it mean?" I asked one student over the hubbub. The question was tactless. "Ask me in a month", he said. Another student, a radical socialist who had frequently argued that the university was a bourgeois state apparatus, devoted essentially to the reproduction of a dominant ideology, was overjoyed at getting a 2.1 and prepared to treat the contradiction dialectically.

Their delight was contagious, and sharing it was made easier by the absence of those who had less to celebrate. But, back in my room, at the end of a term when I seemed to have done nothing except examining - setting papers, invigilating, marking, double-marking, externalising, I ask myself, as every year, the awkward question "What does it mean?"

For the students it means a job done, a goal reached. The prima behavioural objective for them is "The student will be able to pass the examination". I have been guilty in the past of wanting to ignore this. But to do so is quixotic. Far from allowing students to be "syllabus free" and concerned with "learning for learning's sake", the economic situa-

and observe the angle of the gables or the statue hidden in a niche in the wall of an upper storey may mean missing the demeanour, dress and deportment of passers-by. Those of us who have been trained in social scientific tend, I suspect, to concentrate on the observation of people. However, I have persuaded myself that just as gum-chewing and walking are possible in combination so is looking at people and places.

A return trip after a long gap to the town in which one grew up produces quite dramatic awareness of place. Recently I went back to Hertford where I lived between the age of six and eighteen. At the time it seemed a rather nondescript kind of place towards which I felt neither attached nor affectionate.

On returning it seemed full of unexpected charm. The Shire Hall, the Corn Exchange, the castle walls, even County Hall not an especially elegant expression of 1930s municipalia, had all acquired a new interest and appeal. Shops which 25 years ago seemed lifeless and dull, with their products in the window having an unenticing and dusty look, took on a quaint quality.

Everything was on a much smaller scale than I remembered it. Houses and public buildings had somehow shrunk to half their previous size, and in doing so had become more attainable. Even the Ware Road, which links Hertford with the next town of Ware and has little of architectural merit along the whole length was a visual paradise.

There can only be one explanation - nostalgia. The boys grammar school was in Hertford; the girls grammar school was in Ware. Thus for 40 years of the year for seven years I had travelled from school along that road from the top of the 310 bus or redoubtingly, to avoid being late, on a second-hand black Raleigh with a big wicker basket stuffed with a large leather satchel, and in the summer a tennis racket too.

To rely, however, on nostalgia and the sentimentality that frequently accompanies it will not be enough to compete with Roy Hattersley especially for those of us who spent most of our childhood in only one place. The only thing to do is to resolve to take a notebook on future journeys to lecture or give a paper and to fix a little longer in Liverpool, Leeds or Lancaster either to explore what remains of great Victorian cities or to venture into the hills and dales beyond smaller university towns. After all in my case just as there is no longer any need to be driven out of the house by small children to work in a library, so also is there no compulsion to get on the first train back to be home in time to put them to bed. Old habits, however, are hard to shake off in spite of changed circumstances.

I think examination results should mean that students can do certain things (speak French, solve problems, communicate, learn). The trouble is that we rarely spell out what these things are. The link between objective and assessment often appears arbitrary. Or the cart pulls the horse, and past examination papers may actually constitute the only statement of the objective, a perfect circularity.

The absence of clear objectives and the reliance on traditional "stand and deliver" examinations combine to produce a situation where the examination represents essentially a rite of passage. Proof of this can be seen in the regulation stipulating that a student who fails and resits cannot get more than a certain class. If a degree meant only the presence of specified abilities, this rule would be unthinkable.

I am not arguing against plurality of meaning. An examination result is a dense, arcane text and may be interpreted in diverse ways. But I wonder whether it has to be so dense and so arcane. Is this system "big bang", culminating in a traditional three-hour examination cannot possible mean is that the student has an ability to think deeply or carefully or creatively. We must always be making a leap from the piece of writing before us to what we know students can do.

The deep discontent students often feel immediately after an examination comes from their awareness of a discrepancy between what they know they have learned and the hopelessly inappropriate opportunities they are given to show it. One essay I read this year broke off half-way through: "This is rubbish and I apologise, but I'm tired and confused".

Colin Evans

The author is senior lecturer in French at University College, Cardiff

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Age discrimination in job selection

Sir, - Does the Association of University Teachers really care so little about preserving jobs? In "Oxford Recruiting Fears" (*THES*, April 22) the union objects to Oxford University's failure to make "new blood" jobs available to those in permanent posts. For some years, departments have frozen or axed tenured lecturers when their occupants left. Tenured academics seek new jobs for career advancement without apparently having scruples lest their mobility reduce the overall number of tenured lecturers. They are in a privileged position in a dual sector labour market which the AUT helped to create. Yet many of us do not have jobs at all!

The AUT is worried that "new blood" advertisements do not insist that applicants "with exceptional claims" will be considered, even if the poor geriatrics are a little over 35. Ageism takes strange forms in British academia I first experienced age dis-

crimination in job selection when I was 28. At 33 I was advised that anyone who had not obtained a tenured lectureship by 35 might as well give up because thereafter universities would be reluctant to employ them for financial reasons. (Yet as a mature student intent upon an academic career, I had not been warned that my age might exclude me for this.) Now at 35, I find that the AUT is supporting a policy that anyone over 35 must become a genius over night in order to survive. (Others may remain ordinary mortals.) Universities complain about age imbalance in their departments; the result of their own bad planning. But mature entrants are likely to be penalized for this, too.

Other countries do not practice this invidious form of ageism. In Britain today, it is possible to be too old at 28, geriatric at 35, but young and budding at 55, provided that you resist pressures to take early retirement. Is it

possible to legally change one's age? Yours truly, JENNIFER WOOD, 3 Linden Vale, Howell Road, Exeter, Devon.

Sir, - There is no justification for your report that the AUT objects to the Oxford advertisements for "new blood" posts. I have a letter from AUT head office which expresses pleasure at the arrangements. Moreover, there was no consultation with this association regarding the statements in your report, and I do not understand why Mr Warwick should be reported as having made them. She appears to have been seriously misled, and no doubt she will look further into the matter.

Yours etc, JOHN GILLARD WATSON, Hon. Secretary, Oxford Association of University Teachers.

Resource unit cuts

Sir, - In their second letter (*THES*, May 13), Messrs Allan and Richardson, seek to justify their proposal to cut the unit resource in polytechnics. In doing so, they make matters worse. To accuse those who wish to maintain standards in polytechnics and similar colleges of a "futile political gesture" is both presumptuous and dangerous. Unfortunately, their letters ignore two very important facts: First, the universities are seeking to maintain their unit of resource near its 1981/82 level helped by an increase in their proportion of higher education funds and a decrease in their proportion of higher education students. Second, the polytechnic and similar colleges have

to seek to provide standards comparable with those of the universities if they are to satisfy the demands of CNA and the needs of their graduates.

To increase intake into the public sector of higher education on a shrinking resource base will benefit only one group of people - those who advocate cuts in that sector and who hide behind the demonstrable falsehood that reducing resources does not reduce standards. Those who would thus cheat their students will be guilty of, not a futile, but a dangerous political gesture.

Yours faithfully, D. J. VAIZEY, Newcastle Local Association, Association of Polytechnic Teachers.

Paisley in arms

Sir, - In your report on responses to the cuts at Paisley (*THES*, May 27) you mention academic freedom almost as an afterthought.

Yet it is precisely this that is at stake. It is not just a matter of resources. Two precedents have been set at Paisley which cannot be allowed to go unchallenged if all sectors in higher education are to be endangered.

The first concerns the use of ministerial power. At the stroke of a pen, without warning, consultation or the involvement of wider educational opinion, a minister has attempted to restructure like a third of Scotland's university provision for social studies and social science degrees.

If academic freedom means anything, it must be the ability to develop teaching and research free from arbitrary or prejudiced intervention and within a stable and agreed framework of public accountability.

Paisley College may be particularly vulnerable because of its status as a directly funded central institution. But the Minister's action is still without parallel.

On top of this, however, is the suggestion that the teaching posts themselves, and there are some 30 of these, should be redeployed to technical subjects without "undue delays".

Given the origin of this instruction, this signals a clear renewal of political intent to see academic tenure broken. The terms of the Paisley contracts are little different from those in the university sector. Now the assault on university contracts has run into difficulties, Paisley seems to have been singled out as a potential weak link.

It would, therefore, be a grave mistake to see Paisley as an isolated incident. Precedents set here, unless successfully challenged, will menace the staff everywhere and that is why the staff involved are calling a full and independent review, and a reversal of the Minister's dictat.

Yours faithfully, PROFESSOR JOHN O. FOSTER, Department of Politics and Sociology, Paisley College of Technology.

Letters for publication should arrive by Tuesday morning. They should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper. The editor reserves the right to cut or amend them if necessary.

Sir, - Terry Cox's letter (*THES*, May 13), points out (inter alia) that the Scottish Education Department's decision to terminate social science teaching at Paisley College is a decision to halt progressively vocational teaching in that subject area.

In the light of your article in that same issue of *THES* headed "New Institute Marks Growth in Media Studies" it is particularly ironic that one of the threatened courses at Paisley is an option at honours level in film and television studies.

Your article indicates both the importance of understanding the social significance of the new media technology and the presence of a hugely unsatisfied student market (eg. 300 applications for the 12 places on Glasgow/Strathclyde University's joint degree in film and television studies).

In this context it is hard to understand how the Scottish Education Department currently announces Paisley College to be a "centre of educational excellence" whilst simultaneously seeking to curtail its educational responses to an acknowledged social need and existing market demand.

TONY WILSON, Lecturer in Department of Politics and Sociology, Paisley College of Technology.

Sir - Could I add my support to the views expressed by Professor Ian Carter (*THES*, May 6). I am in my third year as external examiner in politics at Paisley and I am convinced that the teaching at Paisley is of an exceptionally high standard. The politics staff recognized the importance of teaching the politics of public policy long before university politics departments joined the public policy movement. The staff have been innovative in terms of undergraduate teaching and have been active on the research front. It is little short of a tragedy that this excellent work should be cast aside in this manner. At no point, as external examiner, have I been consulted about the SED proposals. Had proper consultations taken place I would certainly have expressed my strong support for the politics staff and would have argued for the retention of degree level teaching at the college.

Yours faithfully, PROFESSOR J. J. RICHARDSON, Department of Politics, 16 Richmond Street, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow.

Alternative thinking

Sir, - It is interesting to see how the sage and measured leader (*THES*, May 20) claimed for *The THES* the role of the long-term strategies of the University of Salford. As the secretary general of the Committee of Vice Chancellors has recently acknowledged, over the last two years the interests of the university community as a whole have manifestly been in conflict with the interests of the University of Salford.

Recognizing the self-perpetuating nature of the intellectual model of the university which has dominated the discussion of the university since mid-1979 (with the honourable exception of the discussions in the pages of *Nature*), the University of Salford has set itself as a goal the creation of an alternative way of thinking about universities which does not bring so sharply to mind the shadows of the Platonic cave but admits of the need for and the encouragement of greater diversity among universities. One way, perhaps the only way, to obtain such diversity (given the behaviour of the UGC over the two years since July 1981) is to have a small number of universities funded in whole or in part not through the UGC but through other appropriate mechanisms such as the Department of Industry. The University of Salford looks forward to *The THES* devoting its considerable intellectual energies and its political influence to the successful espousal of the cause of institutional diversity both of purpose and of funding.

Yours faithfully, PROFESSOR MARTIN HARRIS, Pm vice chancellor, University of Salford.

Sir, - Reading your account of the verberate report (*THES*, May 27) my immediate reaction was that I had heard it all before. The proposal for an initial, broader degree followed by two or three layers of further study is almost identical to the educational path pursued by my late mother during the first quarter of this century.

The time-scale was, perhaps, more leisurely in those days. My mother's first degree was obtained by attending University for nine terms (rather than Leverhulme's six) and passing eight courses, one of which was required to be either philosophy or mathematics, one had to be a science and one had to be a language.

There was no Science and Engineering Research Council in those days but she got some money from the Carnegie Trust (part grant, part loan) and stayed in the department as a research assistant. She went as a demonstrator to Bedford College during the First World War returning to her first university as a lecturer in 1919. The degree of PhD was instituted in British universities at that time and she became one of the first recipients of that degree in 1920.

She always looked back on hers as a very good education and she looked with dismay at the narrow specialization forced on me at school in the 1940s. But then, her education was under the Scottish system, mine under the English.

Yours faithfully, DAVID WISHART, Department of Mathematics, University of Birmingham.

Building view Sir, - In his article on architecture (*THES*, April 29) Professor Thomas Markus asserts that "building science", when incorporated into architectural education, was "understood as having to do not with building but with environmental studies, and social sciences."

I am sure this is news to the two other professors of building science at Sheffield (a physicist) and at Edinburgh, where the chair is in the civil engineering department, having been endowed by a building firm.

Similarly, I am sure it is news to most lecturers in building science who have been banging away at the applied physics of heat, light and sound, and materials science, in the context of building technology. Clearly, they seem to have been working on the wrong syllabus if Professor Markus is correct in his interpretation of intentions.

Yours faithfully, J. FARRELLS, 397 Woodstock Road, Oxford.

Strengthening industrial links

Sir, - I read with interest your leading article "Universities of Industry" (*THES*, May 20).

As the British base of a French *grande école* (established ten years ago by the Paris Chamber of Commerce and Industry to provide a new form of European management education), I can confirm that our links with industry and commerce are strong and mutually beneficial. These manifest themselves in a number of different ways, not least being the provision of 60 to 70 paid management projects for our students each year. In addition, we involve senior managers in the interviewing and selection of students and each year, more than 100 managers from different European countries participate in the evaluation of students' final dissertations. The work evaluated, I should add, is a piece of practical business research in a European context. Stiff research, although in greater depth, must have a similar practical bias.

Earlier this year, we launched an executive development group to provide a forum for senior managers to learn from each other and identify their own learning needs. Organizations such as Rank Xerox, British Telecom and BPCC were founding members and the network is growing fast.

Yours faithfully, KENNETH STARLING, UK Director, European School of Management Studies, Oxford.

Public principle

Sir, - I read with interest your report of the Association of University Teachers' council meeting (*THES*, May 27) which rejected the principle of private funding for universities, the brainchild of Dr Graham Hills, Strathclyde principal, "and his buddies".

If the principle of public funding for universities is progressively weakened and destroyed, it is inevitable, as night follows day, that national salary scales will be destroyed to a general melee of hiring and firing and poaching of research staff. That is, the clock will be turned back to the situation existing before the AUT came on the scene in the 1920s - non-standard salary scales across the country.

The most important aspect of government funding of the universities today is that the salary bill is underwritten. Clearly "privatization" and abolition of tenure would be a prescription for dictatorships to be created, in comparison with which Mr MacGregor at the British Steel Corporation would seem a benign uncle.

I find it interesting that in the long years when Dr Hills was an unknown chemistry lecturer, his views were of no importance. Because of decisions made by other unknown people he now occupies a position from which he prescribes for the nation. Presumably he was not against tenure in the long years in which he enjoyed its benefits.

Yours etc, ROBERT GORDON, 162 Chelsea Cloisters, Sloane Avenue, London.

Building view

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Union view

Resource unit must not be a sacrifice

It will have come as no surprise to those engaged in the "National Advisory Body's 10 per cent cuts exercise" that their unit of resource, the funding per student in the local authority institutions, is to be cut once again.

In the last three years, in spite of promises of even-handed treatment, the share of the budget for higher education which has gone to the universities has increased; the share for the polytechnics and similar colleges has decreased. This redistribution of funding away from the public sector has been matched by a redistribution of students in the opposite direction.

It is clear that, whatever the arguments which were advanced prior to 1980 for the preferential funding of university students, the same arguments cannot be sustained as justification for the even greater preference which those students are given now.

These simple facts must not be taken as arguments for reducing the funding of the universities: their cost effectiveness, while not so high as for public sector institutions, stands in comparison with any higher education system in the Western world.

In a BBC radio interview on March 9, 1983, Mr William Wakegrave replied to Association of University Teachers' criticism of the DES policy for higher education by pointing out that the unit of resource for the universities, and hence their standards, were to be maintained; the *allowance* of the average MP was to be protected. At the same time, access to higher education was to be increased in the public sector by reducing the unit of resource for polytechnics and other local authority colleges.

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The reduction in the unit of resource will mean that students in the public sector of higher education may be taken on to courses which are understaffed, ill-equipped and poorly accommodated; students may be taken on to courses for which they are over-qualified, displacing late developing students, students with one A level, etc.; they may lose the opportunity to transfer between courses at different levels because there can be no room for flexibility.

It is small wonder that the lobby of Parliament, which also occurred on March 9, 1983, while not exactly a triumph for the universities, was a minor debacle for the public sector.

The explanation which was given for the increase in student numbers in the public sector institutions was that there had previously been spare capacity, the implication being that institutions had actually been overprovided with resources. Unfortunately, this claim has been given unwarranted credence by the responses which institutions have made to the NAB exercise: instead of cutting student numbers to meet the 10 per cent cut in funding, the average college proposes to take 10 per cent more students. Such plans fit very neatly the NAB suggestion of a cut of 20 per cent in the unit of resources.

Yet it must be hoped that NAB will display some critical judgment and that they will not, great as the temptation may be, accept the responses of institutions at their face value.

The problem of convincing local and national government of the seriousness of the situation in public sector higher education has not been eased by the actions of those charged within NAB to represent standards and the interests of lecturers. For the representative of the Council for National Academic Awards to concede a reduction in the unit of resource is not comprehensible within the charter of that organization.

For the trade union representatives to support a reduction of the unit of resource suggests that they are prepared to sacrifice their chief bargaining asset - the fear of government that less resources means less students - to other interests.

Tony Pointon

The author is national secretary of the Association of Polytechnic Teachers.